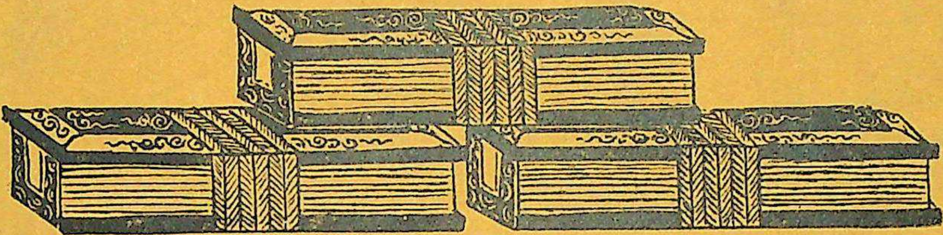
3610

TIBET

—Considerations on Inner Asian History—

ཆོས་འབྱུང་།



རྒྱལ་རབས། ཡིག་ཚང་།

BY

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA

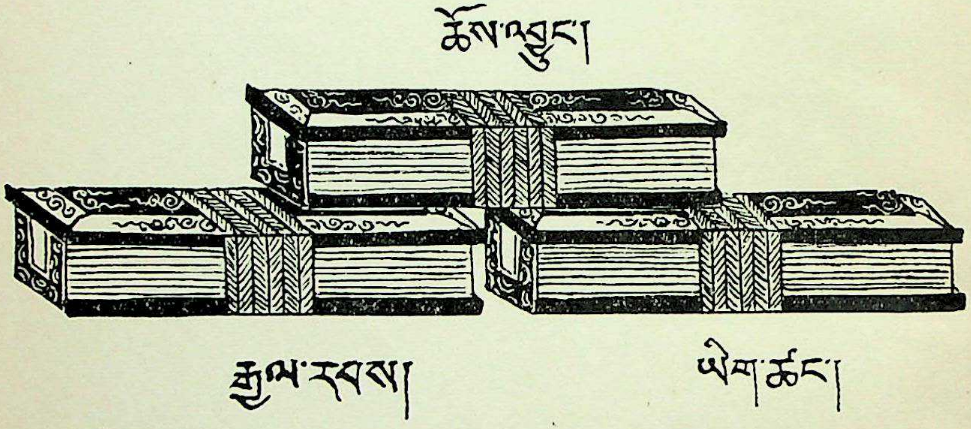
951'5
S 3610 T

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY

Rs 10/2

3610

BALKRISHNA BOOK CO.
Hazratganj, Lucknow,


ཆོས་འབྱུང་།
རྒྱལ་རབས།
ཡིག་ཚང་།

TIBET

—Considerations on Inner Asian History—

BY

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA

With a Foreword

BY

FRANZ MICHAEL

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
CALCUTTA-12 :: INDIA

1967

PUBLISHED BY
FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
6/1A BANCHHARAM AKRUR LANE, CALCUTTA 12

First Edition May 1967

© *Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay*

951.5
S T

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय, लखनऊ
क्रमसंख्या 3610
प्राप्ति तिथि 23-3-68
State Museum, Library, Lko.

PRINTED IN INDIA
BY KANAN MITRA AT SARAT PRESS LTD.
10/2 RAMANATH MAJUMDAR STREET, CALCUTTA 9

In Memory

of

My Father

PROBODH CHANDRA SINHA

1880-1944

CONTENTS

PAGE

Acknowledgements vii

Foreword xi

Historical Status of Tibet 1

Tibet's Status During the World War ... 9

Was the Simla Convention not Signed ? ... 14

Asian Law and Usage in European Expression ... 19

Man-chu-shih-li 26

The Lama 36

Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow 42

The Missing Context of Chos 49

The Lhasa Sanskrit 55

Appendix :

I. Glossary 61

II. Chronological Table 68

III. The Dalai Lamas 71

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many persons have been responsible for my study of Tibet and Inner Asia. When I was hardly ten my father used to mention the names of Sarat Chandra Das and Francis Younghusband as the great explorers of the century. Later I heard often about the feats of these two great men from my father. The dedication of this book has relevance in this context and is not an act of filial piety. I would rather subscribe to the negation of soul as preached by Gautama the Buddha than conform to the ancestor worship as enjoined by Confucius the Sage.

I however began my study of this subject only ten years ago. As a student of history I had earlier chosen economic history of modern Asia for specialization and had collected some data about the trade in the Trans-Himalayan countries. I eventually realized that a knowledge of the ancient history of the Trans-Himalayas was necessary for investigation into their modern history and placed myself under the guidance of late Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, the eminent Sinologist and late Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti, the eminent epigraphist and both authorities on Northern Buddhist literary tradition. I was rather late in seeking their guidance since both passed away in 1956. But I had at the feet of these two masters a most illuminating introduction into the antiquities of Inner Asia ; Chakravarti had advised a more precise field, namely, Tibet. For facilities of study in this field I acknowledge my indebtedness to four senior officials of the Government of India : Mr. Apa

B. Pant, Mr. Triloki Nath Kaul, Dr. A. M. D'Rozario and Mr. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh.

During these ten years I was fortunate to come into close contact with a good number of Tibetan and Tibetan-speaking monks, scholars, officials and merchants and have immensely benefited from discussions with such persons. Individual acknowledgements will be made in my projected work on Lamaist Polity. I must however mention three names here : Athing Sonam Tobden of Libing : Sikkim, Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson of Fife : Scotland and Miwang Palden Thondup Namgyal, Chogyal of Sikkim. I mention them according to their years. I have found each an indispensable source for study of secular history of Tibet and Tibetan-speaking countries and I would describe each in Tibetan expressions as Ge-gen (dge-rgan) and Ton-pa (ston-pa). But these Ge-shes (dge-bshes = Skt. Kalyanamitra) are not responsible in any way for my conclusions and opinions. In fact each has expressed disagreement on several points when the contents of this book first appeared in print.

While the investigations into Trans-Himalayan trade could not progress much due to heavy organizational and administrative duties, I arrived at certain findings about history and historiography of Tibet and expressed them in lectures before some Universities and Colleges in India. My sons—Ajoy, Atish and Alok—instigated me to shape the lecture notes and scripts into regular articles. These articles appeared in *France-Asie* (Tokyo/Paris), *Man in India* (Ranchi) and *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Gangtok), journals which count among their readers a large number of the general type. The article entitled "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow" was contributed as introduction to the reprint (1965) of Sarat Chandra Das's famous work with the same title. I am grateful to the authorities of the journals mentioned and to the publishers of Das's work (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta-12) for permission to reprint the articles here.

I had intended these articles more for the general reader, the so-called lay reader, than for the expert and I am now prompted to publish them in a book form mainly because of the reactions of the general readers. I cite a few names to indicate the different types who found interest in this somewhat obscure subject. My uncle Mr. Nanda Kumar Ghosh, inspite of an indifferent health and the busy routine of a lawyer, found time to locate, read and comment on these writings. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, the leading scholar on Indian anthropology, and Professor Narendra Krishna Sinha, the leading scholar on modern Indian history, found these profitable reading. Mr. Mriganka Mauli Basu, a busy Civil Servant whose scholarship is the source of pride and envy to his scholarly friends, asks for more such writings. Mr. Satyendra Narayan Aggarwal, a leading Legislator from Bihar, makes the same demands. Dr. Rene de Berval, the well-known French intellectual settled in Asia, considers these articles "important". Dr. Mohan S. Mehta—whose eminence as an administrator, a diplomat and a social worker obscures his credit as an objective scholar of modern history—writes in a personal letter : "I envy you for having done that (study of history) which I would love to undertake myself." None of these gentlemen is a Tibetologist but I cannot disown a sense of gratification at their good words.

As a measure of the appreciation of these articles I may mention that some of these were reproduced in some newspapers and journals with due acknowledgement of source while the first one was reproduced in some mimeograph magazine without even the name of the author. I am grateful to all alike.

I am most grateful to the academicians and experts in the field, who, notwithstanding their criticisms and disagreements here and there, have conveyed appreciation in no uncertain terms. This has encouraged me to present these articles without any additions and alterations. The Appendix is added for obvious reasons.

Professor Franz Michael, the well-known Sinologist, has readily responded to my request for a Foreword and has placed me under a kind obligation.

I conclude with thanks to Mr. Kanai Lal Mukhopadhyay and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Kar for arranging this publication on extremely short notice.

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA

Gangtok, Sikkim
First Day of Fire Sheep Year of Cycle Sixteen
(10 February, 1967)

FOREWORD

This book is the work of a scholar who combines a profound knowledge of Tibetan history and culture with a practical experience in Tibetan affairs, gained in his years of work in Sikkim and Tibet.

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sinha has been, since its establishment, the Director of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology at Gangtok in Sikkim, which has had as its task the promotion of the study of Tibetan religion and history and which, under his guidance, has become a true center for Tibetan cultural tradition. When this culture was threatened in its homeland, it was the idea of His Highness, the Chogyal of Sikkim, to establish this Institute for the very purpose of keeping a record of that culture and to provide resources for its study. As a result, there has been established a unique collection of religious and historical documents in which, as nowhere else, yellow and red sect records are combined under one roof, demonstrating the unity of traditional Tibetan culture. This library and the work carried on at the Institute is largely the result of the able guidance of its Director, Mr. Sinha, who has also continued his own studies.

Mr. Sinha has produced a number of academic essays which, on the basis of careful scrutiny of political and cultural records, deal with the problems of the Tibetan political and social order. Mr. Sinha's familiarity with and access to Tibetan texts and Indian documents, has enabled him to provide a record which rectifies many of the misinterpretations caused by political attack as well as by scholarly limitations of those whose work has been based too one-sidedly on Chinese sources of Tibetan history. The political purpose of Chinese control has unwittingly been served by scholars either unfamiliar with the Tibetan side of the story or applying modern Western legal concepts to a world of the past to which modern legal terminology is as little suited as it would be to the medieval world of the West.

The Leitmotiv of the essays assembled in this book is the study of Tibet's culture and political identity ; and, though different in their topics and in time and aspects treated, all these essays are closely interrelated by the thread of their thought.

The theme is introduced in the first essay : "The Historical Status of Tibet." The relationship between Tibet and Imperial China is sketched through its history. The story begins with the Mongol Tibetan relations under Genghis Khan and his successors, at the time when Tibet submitted to Mongol rule and when its Sakya priests converted the Mongols to Buddhism and became the rulers of Central Tibet. It was under the Manchus, however, that the special relationship of Tibet's priest-rulers and the Imperial Court was established, which was to become the crux of the problem of Tibetan relationship to China.

The "patron-priest" relationship between the Manchu emperor and the Dalai Lama was first based on mutual interests. The emperor's support to the Dalai Lama as ruler of Tibet was given in exchange for the Dalai Lama's help in influencing the Mongol princes whose allegiance was of major importance to the Manchu throne. Only when succession disputes in Tibet and conflicts between Tibetans and Mongols permitted Manchu intervention, was this relationship transformed into

Manchu political superiority—a "hegemony or paramountcy for the patron" which began only in 1720 and lasted no longer than about a century and a quarter. In the latter part of the 19th century, Manchu political superiority disappeared and was finally liquidated with the revolution of 1911. Only British policy, fearful of Russian competition, artificially maintained the doctrine of Chinese "suzerainty"—never accepted by Tibet—which eventually provided the legal pretext for Chinese Communist military occupancy.

How unreal this so-called "suzerainty" was in the years preceding Communist occupation is demonstrated in the second essay : "Tibet's Status During the World War." While according to the international concept all territories of a belligerant, even those under "suzerainty", should become "region of war"—Tibet remained neutral during World War II. And when, in the treaty of 1943, Great Britain gave up her extraterritorial rights in "all the territories of the Republic of China," Tibet remained excluded. The validity of the treaties of Lhasa and Simla between Tibet and Britain was thus demonstrated, as was the exclusion of Tibet from the territorial realm of China covered by the Treaty of 1943. The British extraterritorial rights in Tibet were transferred to India in 1947 and it required a special Sino-Indian Treaty of 1954 to terminate these rights—a treaty in which, however, the legal basis of these rights was delicately ignored.

A third essay : "Was the Simla Convention Not Signed ?" demonstrates the validity and actual application of this agreement, most important in demonstrating the status of Tibet.

The essay : "Asian Law and Usage in European Expression" demonstrates the injustice resulting to Tibet from the indiscriminate application of terms that neither fitted the Tibetan situation nor were ever accepted by Tibet. How alien the term "suzerainty" was to the Tibetans was demonstrated by the translation of this term as used in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 into Tibetan, where it was rendered as a "big country governing a small, independent country." The Chinese use of "tribute" to demonstrate dependency was never accepted by the Tibetans, whose phrase "articles for presentation" was equally applied to Tibetan gifts to Peking, as to Peking's gifts to Tibet. The Chinese claim of Tibet having paid "tributes" is, in Mr. Sinha's view, no more proof of the actuality of a tributary relationship than it was in the case of Russia, England, Holland, Portugal or the Pope. Altogether, the "Lamaist polity" was different in kind from the Western concept of State. It dealt with a floating community rather than territorial jurisdiction, and its transfer into the straight-jacket of modern Western concepts is, in the author's view, unjustifiable.

The relationship between the Emperor and the Dalai Lama is further discussed in the essay : "Man-chu-shih-li." The recognition of the Emperor as a Buddhist reincarnation, albeit lesser than that of the Dalai Lama, was a political device for the interrelationship between the two authorities, which from the Manchu point of view was serving the purpose of "patronizing the yellow church to maintain peace among the Mongols". If this relationship led at its height to Manchu paramountcy, expressed through military interference and participation in the selection of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation, the paramountcy ended in the latter part of the 19th

Century, when the Tibetans alone determined the succession and had to fend for themselves against outside threats.

The essay : "The Lama" deals with the usage of this term to describe a "superior monk" with spiritual authority and temporal immunity. The role of the Lama in Tibet was demonstrated by the addition of the formula of taking "refuge in the Lama", to the "refuge in the three gems" of Buddhist doctrine. Genghis Khan's decree and Ch'ien Lung's dissertation, provide the Mongol and Manchu emperors' recognition of this role of the Lama.

That the Tibetan belief in Dharma is derived from Indian and not Chinese influence and has taken its own Tibetan character, is explained in the essay : "The Missing Context, of Chos." Criticizing an American study based on inadequate knowledge of Tibetan practice and theory, Mr. Sinha deals in great detail with the Tibetan concept of Chos and its origin as contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur and many Tibetan texts. As a demonstration of the weakness of much of Western scholarship depending on limited Chinese information, this study is one of the most valuable in the book.

But even the great Indian scholar, Sarat Chandra Das, in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow,* first published in 1893 and reprinted in 1965, was not free of this weakness of giving too much weight to the influence of "Indian Pandits in China" on the spread of Buddhist beliefs in Tibet. In his introduction to the reprint of this study, Mr. Sinha points out some of the aspects of scholarship which have clarified the history of Tibet and the history of Buddhist influence there since the time when the work of Das first came out.

The last essay : "Lhasa Sanskrit" deals with the Indian source of Tibet's script and its Tibetan use. As in its religion, so in its language and writing and in its literature and history, Tibet has its own identity and has gained its major cultural impact from India, while the influence of China has been only marginal.

These essays then provide in their entirety an insight and understanding of the uniqueness of Tibetan civilization and its strength, and of the vain struggle of the Tibetans to maintain their own cultural and political independence, which was foiled by international politics and the ruthlessness of Chinese aggression. Whether or not Tibetan civilization and polity can survive Chinese aggression and genocide, we must be grateful to the author of this scholarly book who has presented in outline the basic record of its rare and special qualities.

FRANZ MICHAEL

Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies
The George Washington University
Washington, D. C.
January 24, 1967

HISTORICAL STATUS OF TIBET

I

In the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. Tibet emerges as a mighty military power often carrying raids and expeditions into India and China. In 763 the Tibetans captured Sian (Chang-an), the then capital of China and for nearly seventy years (781-848) they ruled the Tun-huang region. Tibet's eminence as a great power was attained under the line of her Religious Kings (Song-tsen-Gam-po to Ral-pa-chen, circa 620-820) who enacted a veritable renascence in the life and thought of the country by invention of an alphabet (based on Indic Brahmi script), introduction of Buddhism (Mahayana) and systematic patronage of literature and fine arts. Tibet became an active agency of a new civilization all over the highlands of Asia. In the process, however, her military spirit and ancient skill in war far from making any proportionate progress declined. Besides in the reaction against the apostacy of king Lang Darma (d. 842) the monarchy became discredited, the central power collapsed and the country was parcelled into numerous lay and monastic principalities.

Thus when (1200) the Mongols launched their world conquests from the Altai Karakoram, Tibet—though intellectually and culturally quite ripe to be the teacher and the priest of the Mongols—was quite unfit to ward off the Mongol menace. The Tibetan chiefs bought peace with Jenghiz Khan by despatch of a joint delegation with an offer of submission (1207). Within thirty years Tibet captured her captor ; the abbots of Sakya sect converted the Mongol imperial family to Buddhism and the Sakya Lama became the priest of the Mongol Emperor (1230-1244) ; sometime later the Sakya Lama was recognized by Kubilai Khan as the ruler of Central Tibet. The Mongols were then engaged in a permanent conquest of Northern China. In 1278 the Chinese Sung Dynasty was finally overthrown and Kubilai Khan became the Emperor of China. The relation between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama, which was anterior to the Mongol conquest of China and the transfer of Mongol metropolis to Peking, continued as before. The Mongol dynasty in China was supplanted by a Chinese (Ming) dynasty in 1368.

The Mongol chiefs in Mongolia and Chinese borderlands however continued active contact with Tibetan Lamas. A new sect called Gelugpa (Yellow), founded by Tsong-khapa who came from Koko Nor region (a region just adjacent to Mongolia), gained the devotion of these Mongol chiefs; the Sakya Lamas meanwhile declined both in power and prestige. The third Gelugpa hierarch visited (1578) Mongolia and converted the leading chief Altan Khan, the well-known scourge of Chinese (Ming) emperors. Altan Khan called the Gelugpa hierarch Dalai Lama and recognized the Dalai Lama as the ruler of Central Tibet. In 1644 a foreign (Manchu) dynasty overthrew the Mings. The Manchus immediately sought to participate in Tibetan politics. The Mongol Khan (Gusri) acted swiftly and confirmed the Dalai Lama (the Fifth) as an independent ruler (1645).

The Manchus had evinced interest in Tibet even before they had settled in Peking. Gusri Khan incident taught them that the central power in Tibet was the Dalai Lama. Besides, the Manchus felt, the institution of Dalai Lama had a special usefulness. The Mongols in Mongolia and elsewhere held the Dalai Lama in high respect. Manchu (and not Chinese) imperial interest thus necessitated a close relation with the Dalai Lama. In 1652 the Dalai Lama was persuaded to call upon the Manchu Emperor in Peking. While the wise Manchu received the Dalai Lama as the King of Tibet, the court annalists recorded, in typical Chinese manner, that the Lama came to pay homage. The Manchu (then nationalized as Ching) Emperor became paramount authority for Tibet only in the 1720s when succession disputes regarding the office of the Dalai Lama and dissensions between Tibetans and Mongols induced and called for foreign intervention. For a little over one hundred years the Manchu or Ching paramountcy was a fact though Tibet never became a part of the Chinese territory. In 1855, when the Gurkhas invaded Tibet, the paramountcy had liquidated itself by corruption and inefficiency, and Tibet had to fend for itself. Powers other than the Manchu Emperor were then looming large on the horizon of Tibet; Britain and Russia had by that time become the neighbours of Tibet. The ghost of Manchu paramountcy was laid in 1911 with the Expulsion of the Manchu.

II

The relationship between the Manchu Emperor and the Dalai Lama was a patron-priest relationship following the precedent of Altan Khan and the Gelugpa hierarch or Kubilai Khan and the Sakya hierarch. It involved two personalities possessing the same faith, one its exponent and priest and the other its lay devotee and protector. It did not involve any confederation, to use a modern term, between the two countries. The relationship had produced a firm political superiority, call it hegemony or paramountcy, for the patron, that is, the Manchu Emperor, only for about a century and a quarter from 1720. This paramountcy was dead from the middle of the Nineteenth Century. When in 1911 the Manchu Empire fell, the Manchu dynasty was expelled from Peking and a republican regime was set up, the theoretical paramountcy of the Manchu Emperor over the Dalai Lama was automatically liquidated. That the republican regime in China could keep alive the doctrine of paramountcy was not a little due to the British diplomacy in Asia. It is therefore necessary to describe this phenomenon.

British Government in India and their controlling authorities in London had a dread of Russian expansion all over the highlands of Asia not excluding Tibet; this dread had its justification in British point of view. In contacting the Dalai Lama or Tibean authorities, Russia had a decided advantage over Britain. Among her motley population, Russia counted a good number of Buddhists (Buriats and Kalmuks) who made frequent trips, for pilgrimage as well as trade, to Lhasa as to Urga (Ulan Bator). In the second half of the Nineteenth Century the Mongols were gravitating from the Manchus to the Romanovs. Would the Bodpas (Tibetans) follow the same line?

A primary reason for British contact with Tibet was to open China and to trade with China from the west by overland. Britain's anxiety was to trade with China, and not with Tibet so much, so as to turn the adverse balance of eastern trade. When Britain did eventually open China and gained substantial advantages by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) Tibet took a second place in the Far Eastern diplomacy of Britain. The British diplomats in China got the Chinese point of view about China's interests and affairs in Central Asia. Verbiage and bombast of Chinese annals and archives were not altogether unknown to the British in China; they had discovered in the list of tributaries of the Manchu dynasty the following entries: Britain, Holland, Portugal and Russia besides the Pope. Nevertheless, the British in their own interests accepted the Chinese doctrine of Tibet as a vassal State.

In 1876 Britain made a treaty with China for exploration across Tibet, from India to China or from China to India. When some years later Britain proposed to despatch a mission Tibet flatly refused. Since China could not help in the matter Britain sent the proposed mission equipped with a military escort. It led to an armed conflict with Tibet inside the territories of Sikkim. It was now a matter of 'face' for China. The upshot was the curious treaty of 1890 regarding Sikkim. It not only assumed that China was paramount power over Tibet but also that directly or through Tibet, China could decide the Sikkim-Tibet borders. Britain gave away Chumbi valley which was an integral part of Sikkim and the nucleus of the kingdom of Sikkim.

Britain was all out to recognize China as the paramount authority for Tibet and Tibetan affairs. Tibet left alone might be victim of Russian expansionism. Therefore the shadow of Chinese paramountcy, called suzerainty by Britain, was made to lengthen over the land of Lamas. But such fiction alone could not guarantee the security which Britain looked for. China again failed to enable Britain to establish trading rights in Tibet as in the mainland of China. On the other hand, Russian agents could visit Tibet rather often. So in 1903-4, an armed mission was despatched to Lhasa. Tibetans put up resistance, admittedly ill-equipped and unorganized. The British Mission reached Lhasa on August 3, 1904 and dictated a treaty on September 7, 1904. China was not there to protect the vassal state and the provisions of the two Anglo-Chinese Conventions (1890 & 1893) had to be ratified by this treaty between Britain and Tibet. That was ample evidence that China had ceased to be paramount power with Tibet.

Yet a year and a half later (April 1906) Britain raised the suzerainty issue and made a treaty with China regarding Tibet in confirmation of Anglo-Tibetan Treaty (September 1904). If however China was in reality the suzerain, the Anglo-Chinese Treaty (April 1906) should have been the last word about Tibet. But in 1907 (August 31) Britain and Russia concluded a treaty regarding each other's intentions and interests not only about

Persia and Afghanistan but also Tibet. The real issue was not Chinese suzerainty but Anglo-Russian conflict.

Even after the Anglo-Russian Entente, Britain remained anxious about Russian intentions and continued to oppose Tibet *vis-a-vis* China. When, during his exile in India (1910-12) the 13th Dalai Lama solicited British support for Tibetan independence, British authorities told him that His Majesty the King Emperor "regrets that he is unable to interfere between Dalai Lama and his suzerain".

The Chinese Revolution, called Expulsion of the Manchu, broke out in 1911. The remnants of Manchu troops in Tibet were repatriated to China under the auspices of British Government in India (1912). The Dalai Lama returned from India and entered Lhasa in January 1913. The Patron-Priest relationship was now lost for ever. The Dalai Lama made a formal declaration of independence.

Shortly afterwards, news of a treaty concluded in January 1913 between Tibet and Mongolia (which had become fully independent of Manchu Empire in 1911) reached the outside world. Britain sought to reject the report as unfounded and later the treaty as invalid, since Tibet was "not independent" and thus not capable of making treaties. The real reason for British opposition was the attainment of Mongolian independence under Russian support and its likely repercussions on Tibet.

Yet in keeping with facts of the matter, Britain sat in a tripartite conference (Simla 1913-14) with China and Tibet "to settle by mutual agreement various questions concerning the interests of their several States on the Continent of Asia". When at the end of the deliberations, Chinese delegate refused to sign the entire agreement because of the inacceptability of the clauses regarding the Sino-Tibetan frontier, Britain and Tibet signed the Convention and jointly declared China debarred from the privileges accruing from the Convention. Among such benefits was the recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet.

Such was the position till the rise of Japanese expansionism in the 1930s when both Britain and the United States were engaged in aiding and propping up China. It thus became a fair proposition, in Anglo-American view, to ignore the independence of Tibet and to strengthen the status of China on all fronts.

During the War (1939-45) China was admitted into the counsels of the leading Allies. In the Pacific Council in Washington (1943) the British Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) assured China that "no one contests Chinese suzerainty". The British Foreign Minister (Anthony Eden) followed this in an explanatory memorandum that China's suzerainty over Tibet was not unconditional or absolute.

The Tripartite Convention (Simla 1914) recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet but had determined its limitations in no uncertain terms. Thus the autonomy of Outer Tibet (that is, Tibet under Dalai Lama's rule) was recognized, its territorial integrity confirmed and non-interference in its administration guaranteed. China engaged not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province and not to send troops to Tibet. Tibet had never accepted the British theory of Chinese suzerainty and when China failed to ratify the Tripartite Convention, Britain and Tibet by a joint declaration debarred China from the benefits of the Convention. It is therefore not a little curious that nearly 30 years after this Britain spoke of (nominal) Chinese suzerainty.

III

The term suzerainty does not feature as a firm and precise category in the minds of jurists and is not capable of an absolute definition. In practice as well as in theory its content has varied in the relations between different European powers who all inherited concepts and usages of Roman jurisprudence. In the context of Asia the very application of the term suzerainty was liable to be inappropriate and confusing. The patron-priest relationship between the Manchu Emperor and the Dalai Lama was not a matter to be identified with any concept of Roman or European jurisprudence.

The Manchu Emperor, or his government at Peking, exercised suzerainty in Tibet in modern Western sense, that is, beyond the field of patron-priest relationship, only once. This was in 1909-10 when after some years of preparation the Chinese launched an invasion of Tibet. This was, the Chinese said, to reform the administration. The reformist activities of the army of occupation were however characterized by so much excess that Chao Erh-feng, the commander of the expedition, earned the sobriquet Butcher. Before the expedition reached Lhasa the Dalai Lama left for India and sought asylum with the British Government. While the Dalai Lama declared that the patron-priest relationship had ended with the invasion, the Chinese deposed him. The Tibetans put up a total non-co-operation with the Chinese and even the Panchen Lama refused to head a temporary administration. The Chinese found that it was a grave blunder to depose the Dalai Lama. The revolution in China broke out shortly and the Dalai Lama returned. He now made a formal declaration that he was ruler of Tibet under the orders of the Buddha. The Dalai Lama XIII ruled for the rest of his life (1913-33) as an independent ruler and gave no quarters to any theory of suzerainty-British or Chinese.

The Tibetan contention that China had no suzerainty over Tibet finds support from certain undisputed facts.

Tibet was not bound by any treaties or agreements which China made with any third power. Tibet thus flatly refused to abide by the Anglo-Chinese agreements (1876, 1890 & 1893) and the rights which Britain obtained under these agreements had to be validated by the Lhasa Convention (1904).

Chinese visas did not enable foreigners entry into Tibet. This was as true of the last decades of the Nineteenth Century, when Rockhill, Bonvalot and others had to resort to other means, as of the Second World War when U.S. officials found their Chinese visas useless. In 1939 Tibet refused admission to a Chinese diplomat (Wu Chung Hsin) even. On the other hand Tibetan passports had validity abroad.

China's participation in the War did not involve Tibet, Tibet remained neutral and inspite of strong pressure from Britain and U.S.A. refused passage for arms supply to China.

For all this we have to go back to 1913 when Republican China agreed to sit at Simla Conference with Tibet as a treaty-making power ; Tibet's sovereignty was thereby admitted.

Inferences have been drawn from the institution of tributes to the Manchu court. Whatever were the implications of such practice, no tributes were despatched after the Manchus went out.

There were no Ambans (Chinese Residents) during the sovereign regime of the Dalai Lama XIII (1913-33). On his death a delegation came from Peking to mourn and managed to dig in under one plea or other. The successive Chinese Commissioners could not however make Tibet an integral part of China as was clearly borne out by Tibet's neutrality during the War. In 1949 the Chinese Mission was expelled.

Tibet as an independent country had its own currency and customs, its own postal service and telegraph and its own civil service and its own army.

In 1950 China, that is, the People's Republic of China, invaded Tibet and placed it under regular military occupation. By the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 1951 (May 23) Tibet was made to surrender its independence to China. Tibet became Tibet Region of China.

The requirement of a treaty bore eloquent testimony to the historical status of Tibet. The claims of "liberation" were intrinsically insufficient to regularize what was an annexation. Remedy lay in the formality of an "agreement" between the so-called great motherland (China) and the so-called national minority (Tibet).

TIBET'S STATUS DURING THE WORLD WAR

I

While the scholars of Tibetan history and culture generally uphold Tibetan sovereignty in the past the scholars of Chinese history and culture generally reject this. For instance, a well-known scholar of Chinese civilization finds the Chinese claim "quite unchallengeable" for the simple reason that "No Chinese government, least of all that of the Kuomintang, has ever renounced China's rights over Tibet". (Fitzgerald: *The Birth of Communist China,* Pelican 1964, p. 245) "To the Chinese all territory which had once acknowledged the Empire as lord, all territory which had been part of China, was forever Chinese". (Ibid, p. 198).

In the preceding paper a brief survey of Tibet's status in historical times was made. Now it is proposed to notice certain facts from the history of the Second World War; these facts throw light on Tibet's status a few years before the Sino-Tibetan Agreement for Liberation of Tibet (23 May, 1951).

II

From the middle of the nineteenth century many Western countries were in enjoyment of extra-territorial rights in China. While similar rights in other Eastern countries came to be abrogated with the rise of such countries (Japan 1899, Turkey 1923, Siam 1927 and Persia 1928) and while Belgium, Italy, Poland, Spain and Denmark relinquished their extra-territorial rights in China in pursuance of the recommendations of the Washington Conference (1921), Great Britain and U.S.A. continued their extra-territoriality in China till the Second World War. This was notwithstanding a Chinese Government Mandate of 1929 (December) that on and after New Year's Day (1 January 1930) "all foreign nationals in the territory of China who are enjoying extra-territorial privileges shall abide by the laws, ordinances and regulations" of the Chinese Government. The promulgation was more in keeping with the tradition and mystique of Chinese statecraft than with the realities of the prospects. There was no question of the Red Barbarians answering the call when even the Yellow Barbarians in Tibet and Mongolia had long ceased to kowtow to the mandates from Peking.

But the exigencies of a war, in which China was uplifted to the level of the Four Allies, demanded the abrogation of British and American extra-territoriality in China. Besides being an infringement of her sovereignty and a symbol of her inferiority, such extra-territoriality was considered to be the *fons et origo* of all the evils of China. (Chiang Kai-shek: *China's Destiny,* first published in March 1943.) When on 11 January 1943 U.S.A. and Great Britain relinquished such rights and privileges, China became full sovereign on her own territory. What was the precise extent of this territory?

While U.S.A. had extra-territorial rights in China, Great Britain had such rights in Tibet as well. A notice of the Treaty between Great Britain and China of 11 January 1943 (v. *British Parly. Papers* 1943, *Cmd.* 6456) is therefore relevant for the study of Tibet's status. Yet this document has so far escaped the attention of the diplomat, the lawyer or the historian enquiring into the subject.

Article I of the Treaty described, for the purpose of the Treaty, the territories of the High Contracting Parties. For China the expression was "all the territories of the Republic of China". Now if Tibet was one of these territories Tibet came under the purview of the Treaty leading to the abrogation of British extra-territoriality in Tibet. The truth was however otherwise. There was absolutely no mention of Tibet or British rights in Tibet anywhere in the Treaty or in the Notes exchanged.

On the other hand the British rights in Tibet continued unabated till 1947 when such rights passed on to the succeeding state of independent India. So neither by specific mention nor by any implication, Tibet could be considered on 11 January 1943 as a territory of China. It is clear from the context that "all territories of the Republic of China" was not just a Mandarin phraseology.

There were indeed grave considerations, legal or moral, which ruled out discussion of Tibet at the Chungking conference. Precise nature of these considerations is not known. What is known is that all through the war Great Britain and

U.S.A. were pro-China and yet Tibet, as much as Mongolia, could not be called a territory of China. It is noteworthy that *China's Destiny*, which was under print when the negotiations about extra-territoriality were taken in hand, contained the Chinese claims to Mongolia and Tibet and the Chinese edition (March 1943) had even a map showing Mongolia and Tibet as Chinese territory.

The British extra-territoriality in Tibet was not much less extraordinary than that in China proper. The British rights in Tibet were based on treaties concluded between Great Britain and Tibet : (1) Lhasa Convention of 7 September 1904 and (2) Simla Convention of 3 July 1914 (along with the Trade Regulations of even date). It is not necessary to extract here all the relevant clauses from these Conventions which are found in the British official publication, Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements etc.*, Vol. XIV (Calcutta 1929) and are also reproduced in Richardson: *Tibet and Its History* (Oxford 1962). These extra-territorial rights may be described thus: (i) Trade Marts at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok to facilitate trade between British and Tibetan subjects; (ii) Armed escorts (military personnel) for British Trade Agents; (iii) Special procedure for trial of disputes between British and Tibetan subjects; (iv) British jurisdiction for disputes between British subjects; (v) British Posts and Telegraphs from Indian frontier to the Trade Marts; and (vi) No Tibetan forts and fortifications on the highways connecting the Indian frontier with Gyantse and Lhasa.

The Chungking Treaty of 11 January 1943 did not cover the above rights nor did these rights lapse to any degree. Armed escorts were maintained notwithstanding the advice of Indian Army Hq. against keeping them away from their units particularly during the War. Special jurisdictional procedures were meticulously followed and disputes involving British subjects were tried by British Trade Agents; one such BTA, a Sikkimese in British foreign service, recollects several cases affecting person and property till 1947. British Posts and Telegraphs had to cope with larger demands on their resources. Increased British control over trade was necessitated to open new outlets for Tibetan wool. Even though anachronistic the British extra-territorial rights in Tibet were operating in 1947. Independent India succeeded to these rights and exercised these as and when necessary for nearly six years.

The Agreement between India and China of 29 April 1954 (along with the Notes Exchanged), which terminated these extra-territorial rights devolving upon India, referred to the then existing military escorts and postal, telegraph and public telephone services but curiously enough did not mention the legal basis of the capitulations. For India the Treaty of 29 April 1954 was a spiritual transaction in which all hereditaments of British imperialism including the documentary vestiges were relinquished; for China it was a diplomatic victory so much so that Tibet's title to negotiate treaties could be later challenged in China's boundary disputes with India. The point for consideration here is that as cooked documents do not establish new facts so lacunae in documents cannot black out established facts and their legal significance.

The Chungking Treaty of 11 January 1943 between Great Britain and China bears testimony to the status of Tibet during the Second World War. The Peking Treaty of 29 April 1954 between India and China bears testimony to the status of Tibet after Liberation. The change in status was effected by the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 23 May 1951 for Liberation. (Richardson: op. cit. gives these two documents in extenso).

There are other facts which bear testimony to the status of Tibet during the Second World War.

III

While in the First World War Great Britain and her Allies received a positive and generous support from Tibet, in the Second the Allies had Tibetan prayers for restoration of peace. Tibet did not participate in this War and inspite of all promises and threats from Great Britain, U.S.A. and China she remained neutral throughout. Tibet vis-a-vis China was thus more like Ireland (Irish Free State) and less like India (British India and Indian States) vis-a-vis Great Britain.

Now it is a commonplace of international law that in war all the territories of a belligerent become "region of war"; if any territory is outside this region that territory is not within the sovereignty of the belligerent concerned. This is true of all territories, colonies, protectorates, trusts and mandates; even a state under suzerainty falls within this region (Oppenheim: *International Law,* Vol. 2, Sect. 71). If Tibet was neutral, that is outside China's region of war, then she had ceased to be under China's suzerainty even. Tibet is sometimes called China's marginal territory (Lattimore) ; the War found that Tibet was beyond the margin of Chinese suzerainty.

I intend to write separately on Tibet between 1942 and 1945 with details from certain series of unpublished papers. All that I need say here is that Tibet professed and practised neutrality during this war. The mounting overtures and pressures of 1942-44 were politely and firmly handled by the Office of Foreign Affairs at Lhasa ; this office was set up in 1942 as an answer to the Chinese innovation of designating their Lhasa agency as a branch of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. All Anglo-American proposals for supply routes and overland transport of war materials through Tibet were turned down. Large cash offerings to temples and monasteries were of no avail. American officials could not even obtain visas for Tibet on Chinese recommendation and British recommendation had to certify that such American officials were not connected with the prosecution of the war. Tibet's monk officials and feudal bureaucrats indeed ensured that Tibet was not involved in any unneutral service.

WAS THE SIMLA CONVENTION NOT SIGNED ?

I

Dr. Alastair Lamb, the brilliant young scholar, who has brought to light much about the conflict of three empires (Manchu, Romanov and British) in Asia, has raised an issue over the signature on the Simla Convention. In his Chatham House Essay entitled *The China-India Border* (Oxford University Press, 1964), Lamb says that the parties meeting at Simla did not sign the Convention, that the Convention was "initialed" (the spelling "initialed" is Lamb's and has a significance no doubt) and that the "initialed" document cannot have the legality of an accepted agreement. In the words of Lamb "Initialing can imply no more than that the delegates have accepted the initialed text as the valid text arising from the negotiations. To become binding the agreement would have to be signed and, probably, ratified" (p. 51, fn. 15).

This note will only present certain indisputable facts, facts which bear out whether the Convention was the finally agreed document or not. No attempt is made here to go beyond published state papers and such records.

II

The Chinese Plenipotentiary eventually left the Conference and the Chinese Government did not accept the Convention. The Plenipotentiaries of Britain and Tibet signed a declaration to the effect that the Convention was to be binding on the Governments of Britain and Tibet and that in the absence of China's ratification China was not entitled to any privileges accruing from the Convention (Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements,* Vol. XIV, (Calcutta 1929) pp. 21 & 38.

With the Anglo-Tibetan Declaration and its subsequent communication to Russia—the other party in the Great Game in Asia, the Simla Convention was a *fait accompli* between Britain and Tibet, whatever was the nature of the signature of either Plenipotentiary. In Lamb's finding, however, this *initialed* text could not "become" a "binding agreement". Lamb does not much notice the Anglo-Tibetan Declaration* and focusses his microscope on the initials of Henry McMahon, the British Plenipotentiary. Indeed McMahon affixed his initials and, while Lonchen Shatra the Tibetan Plenipotentiary affixed his full name, the Tibetan signing** was also described as initials, obviously to observe uniformity. In either case the initials were accompanied by the seal of the Plenipotentiary. Now initials with seal can be as good as signature with seal. The seal is the essence of such agreement. Thus the subtle distinction drawn between initials and signature is not of that consequence as Lamb holds. The words in the concluding article of the Simla Convention are relevant: "In token whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed". [Whatever the coinage "initialed" may mean, "to initial" means "to sign with initials" while "to sign" (a state paper) means "to put a seal upon" (it). Vide *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* 1959 edn.].

Secondly, on the same date (3 July 1914) Britain and Tibet signed an agreement entitled Anglo-Tibet Trade Regulations. This agreement was a sequel to the Convention. Its preamble reads "Whereas by Article 7 of the Convention concluded between the Governments of Great Britain, China and Tibet on the third day of July 1914..." The word *concluded* is unambiguous and categorical while the mention of China was necessary under the declaration which kept the door open for China's return. The Convention by Article 7 had cancelled the Tibet Trade Regulations of 1893 and 1908 and provided for a framing of fresh regulations between Britain and Tibet. Hence the Anglo-Tibet Trade Regulations of 1914. The basis of the 1914 Regulations is the Simla Convention (even date); in fact these Regulations were the corollary to the Convention. Now if, as Lamb's novel finding indicates, the Simla Convention was not signed, these Trade Regulations had a defective preamble and had thus no valid basis. The evidence of all events between 1914 and 1947 (when independent India succeeded to Britain's rights under the Simla Convention and the Trade Regulations), and more correctly till 1954 (when India made fresh agreement with China), militates against such novel finding about the Simla Convention.

Thirdly, Tibet all through considered the Convention as well as the Regulations as valid instruments of her foreign policy. The Regulations stood testimony to Tibet's right to conclude a treaty without China's participation at any stage. This document carried besides the signature of Lonchen Shatra the seals of the three monasteries and the National Assembly; McMahon's full signature was accompanied by seal. In the opinion of Tibetan monk-officials the two documents, the Convention and the Regulations, were but two parts of one treaty and the signatures and seals appended to the Regulations covered fully both documents. The Tibetans, as much as the British, worked to enforce their rights under the two documents. The Dalai Lama corroborates the signing and conclusion of the Simla Convention thus: "the Chinese government refused to sign it; and so Tibet and Britain signed alone, with a separate declaration that China was debarred from any privileges under the agreements so long as she refused to sign it" (*My Land and My People,* Bombay 1962, p. 70).

Last, and certainly the most important, affirmation of signing comes from China and the People's Republic of China.

Lamb (p. 51) "was surprised to find that no less than six publications, some of them the work of lawyers, state or imply that the Convention was signed on 3 July 1914 by the British and Tibetans". None of the authors of these books is a Chinese and Lamb seeks redress in a book "by two Chinese (but definitely non-Communist) writers", that is, Shen & Liu: *Tibet and Tibetans* (Stanford 1953). This book, as Lamb says, "does not mention that (i.e. the document) of July 3 at all". Indeed this book does not mention any uncomfortable fact like that of July 3. It is however not clear why Lamb does not notice in this connexion the book by another definitely non-Communist Chinese writer, that is, Li: *Tibet Today and Yesterday* (New York 1960). This book not only features in Select Bibliography of Lamb's Chatham House Essay but it also anticipates much of Lamb's arguments about the alleged imperfections of the Simla Convention. The author of this book (Li) "has faith in Asian nationalism but detests those who make all sorts of pretenses in the name of nationalism" and condemns all claims to Tibet's secession from "the multi-nationality country" (pp. xiii-xiv). Li speaks thus about the signing of the Simla Convention: "As the Chinese delegate had already made it clear that he was instructed not to sign, the British and Tibetan delegates affixed their signatures on July 3, 1914" (pp. 139-40).

Now from definitely non-Communist to definitely Communist sector of Chinese opinion. At the Sino-Indian boundary discussion the delegation of the People's Republic of China stated thus: "Premier Chou En-Lai and Chinese officials do not deny the fact that the then Tibet local representative signed the Simla Convention". (*Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question,* New Delhi 1961, p. CR-26, bottom para).** *

[In the Chinese view, however, this signature is "illegal" because "Tibet had no right to conclude treaties separately". The issue under consideration here does not need any discussion of the Chinese view of Tibet's title to sign treaties in 1914. Here I seek to prove the signing of the Convention and propose to discuss separately the political and legal implications of the fact of signing.]

So there is agreement between Britain, Tibet and China re: the fact of signing the Simla Convention. Lamb's contention based on "the initialed text" loses all force in the face of Chinese affirmation. An *amicus curiae* who witnesses a dispute cannot himself initiate a dispute on a point on which the parties are in agreement.

NOTES

* Text of the Anglo-Tibetan Declaration as recorded on page 140 of the Report of the International Commission of Jurists entitled *Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic* (Geneva 1960):

"We, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Thibet, hereby record the following declaration to the effect that we acknowledge the annexed convention as initialled to be binding on the Governments of Great Britain and Thibet, and we agree that so long as the Government of China withholds signature to the aforesaid convention she will be debarred from the enjoyment of all privileges accruing therefrom.

"In token whereof we have signed and sealed this declaration, two copies in English and two in Thibetan.

"Done at Simla this 3rd day of July, A.D. 1914, corresponding with the Thibetan date the 10th day of the 5th month of the Wood Tiger year.

A. Henry McMahon,
British Plenipotentiary.

(Seal of the British Plenipotentiary.)
(Seal of the Dalai Lama.)
(Seal of the Lonchen Shatra.)
(Seal of the Drepung Monastery.)
(Seal of the Sera Monastery.)
(Seal of the Gaden Monastery.)
(Seal of the National Assembly.)

(Signature of the Lonchen Shatra)

** Tibetan signature : It is appropriate to point out that the Tibetans do not and cannot initial. Both their custom and script rule out initialling as known in the West. The Tibetan signs or not ; for a Tibetan there is no third category between the two.

In affixing signature to a treaty or such state paper a Tibetan dignitary has to prefix in his own hand his lineage (monastic or lay) and his rank (and/or designation). In keeping with this tradition the Tibetan Plenipotentiary at the Simla Conference prefixed his signature with such details as he suffixed it with the seal.

The two maps (27 April 1914 and 3 July 1914) illustrating the boundaries bear the full signature of the Tibetan Plenipotentiary ; the first bears the full signature of the Chinese Plenipotentiary also ; the second bears the full signatures along with seals of both Tibetan and British Plenipotentiaries. (V. Photographic reproductions of the two maps in *Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India,* New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs 1960).

*** Occurs on p. 30, top para, of the Chinese publication *Report of the Officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India on the Boundary Question* (Peking 1962).

ASIAN LAW AND USAGE IN EUROPEAN EXPRESSION: SOME ILLUSTRATIONS FROM TIBET

Social ethics and civil laws differ from people to people as they change from time to time. When the laws of one country are enforced in another it leads to miscarriage of justice: the trial of Maharaja Nandakumar is a historic example.

Political concepts and systems are neither universal nor eternal. Yet very often in historical writings, theories and institutions of one people (or of one age) are read into those of another people (or of another age). The process is sometimes due to lack of understanding and is sometimes deliberate or conscious. Such misrepresentation occurs most when the history of an Asian country is expressed in a European language. Both interests of diplomacy and difficulties of semantics cause such casualties of history. Tibet provides several examples of miscarriage of justice at the hands of Western readers of Eastern history.

The man in Tibet is associated historically with the man in India through the *Dharma* (= Chos in Tibetan)[1] and thus *Man in India* provides an appropriate forum for a discussion of Tibetan laws and usages. Methodology in this paper will be semantics supplemented by historical illustrations. A leading British authority on laws and customs of mediaeval Europe, Frederic William Maitland, said, 'People cannot understand old law unless you give a few concrete illustrations'. Maitland had in mind the laws and customs which were framed in Latin, and Old English. The task of the present writer is to express in English the laws and usages framed in Tibetan.

This paper does not intend to cover religious thought and philosophy and therefore leaves out incorrect or imperfect renderings of terms from Eastern religions. One must however cite the monstrous construction of 'Living Buddha' to denote Bodhisattva (Tib. *Byangchub sems-dpa*) or 'Nirmanakaya' (Tib. *Sprulsku*). The Dalai Lama, for instance, is neither the Living Buddha nor God on Earth. Even a scholar like Max Weber considers the Dalai Lama as 'the continuously corporeal and living incarnation of god',[2] and thereby contradicts the Buddhist notions about god.

SUZERAINTY

Tibet had commercial and cultural relations with China and India from ancient times and with Mongolia from mediaeval times. From about 1644 some political relationship developed between Lhasa and Peking due to Priest-Patron relationship between the Dalai Lamas of Tibet and the Manchu Emperors of China. The Manchu control over Tibet was complete during the rule of Dalai Lama VII (1720-1757). This control declined later and was almost defunct by 1857. The Manchu court never acknowledged this fact.[3] Interested in trade with China, Great Britain had to evince sympathy with Chinese claims in various matters including that of Tibet. Great Britain hit upon an expression derived from Roman law, namely, 'suzerainty', and, since there was no precise definition of suzerainty even in European usage, it was found convenient to describe Chinese relations with Tibet as 'Chinese suzerainty over Tibet'. In 1907 Great Britain and Russia solved their conflicting claims all over Asia by agreeing to recognize their respective spheres of influence; they also agreed to be out of Tibet over which they recognized China's suzerainty.

The expressions in the Anglo-Russian Convention (31 August 1907) are: 'the suzerain rights of China in Tibet' and 'the admitted principle of the suzerainty over Tibet'. Now the Tibetan language did not know suzerain or suzerainty, and in the Tibetan official record of this Convention[4] an elaborate and cumbrous expression had to be made for this foreign concept. This expression if translated into English stands thus: 'the way of Chinese rule over Tibet as that of a big country governing a small independent country' (*rgya-gshung-des-bod-la dbang-bai-tshul-ni rgyal-khab-che-bas rgyal-phran-rang-dbang-chan-la-dbang-bai-tshul*). The present Dalai Lama says in his autobiography (*My Land and My People*, p. 68) that the term suzerainty 'was very inaccurate, and the use of it has misled whole generations of Western statesmen'. In the Tibetan edition (*Ngos-kyi-yul dang ngos-kyi-mi-mang*, Freedom Press, Darjeeling, 1963. p. 73) the Dalai Lama does not attempt any translation of the term and just transcribes the word in Tibetan alphabet.

The European description 'Chinese suzerainty over Tibet' vis-a-vis the Tibetan designation for the Manchu Emperor and other facts of history is an interesting study.

The Priest-Patron relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor arose as a matter of mutual aid. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Yellow Sect of Lamas, of whom the Dalai Lama was the chief, was engaged in establishing their political power all over Tibet and found it necessary to have a strong ally in a neighbouring power. The Manchu dynasty which began its rule in China in 1644 was anxious to have control over the Mongol tribes who happened to be devotees of the Dalai Lama. The Manchus being non-Han were not tied to the Confucian complex and could profess faith in Mahayana; with profit they became allies of the Yellow Sect. The Manchu Emperor was recognized as an incarnation of Manjusri (Tib. *Hjam dpal*) while the people (that is, *Han*) and the Government (that is, bureaucrat-literati) of China were positively un-Buddhist and Confucian. The fourth Manchu Emperor, Chieng Lung (1736-96), very truly summed up this relationship in his historic dissertation on Lamaism (1792) inscribed on a stele in Yung-Ho-Kung, the famous Lamaist temple of Peking. Said Chien Lung: 'As the Yellow Church inside and outside (of China Proper) is under the supreme rule of these two men (that is, Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama), all the Mongol tribes bear allegiance to them. By patronizing the Yellow Church we maintain peace among the Mongols. This being an important task we cannot but protect this (religion).'[5]

The Dalai Lama and his government addressed the Manchu Emperor as *Gnam-bskos,* that is, Son of Heaven as per old Yueh-chi and Han usage, or as *Gong-ma,* that is Most High (Emperor). The first epithet, descending from the ancient Tartar concept of divine right, was used by men of all races and creeds in their respective languages all over the highlands of Asia for the Emperor of China; this did not necessarily involve any allegiance in spiritual or mundane sense. The second epithet, *Gong-ma,* could be used about any high ruler spiritual or temporal, and was in fact used for Lamas wielding political power, as for Sakya Lama or Dalai Lama. Hence the Son of Heaven or the Most High of Tibetan currency is a far cry from the suzerain of Western polity.

Western authorities, both diplomats and scholars, found justification of the doctrine of China's suzerainty in the periodical despatch of presents from the Dalai Lama to the Manchu Emperor. This custom in Western diplomatic diction was Tibet's tribute to China.

TRIBUTE

The Chinese State-paper recorded the presents from Tibet as tribute and Western authorities accepted such description as correct. A notice of the Chinese concept of tribute is thus necessary before considering the Tibetan version of the presents.

In the Chinese view of the world, China was the Middle Kingdom, the Chinese were culturally superior to all other peoples and that all barbarians who called on the Son of Heaven could do so with tributes of local produce. All visitors to the Imperial Court, merchants as well as diplomats, were recorded as tribute-bearers. An authoritative account of the so-called Tributary System as prevalent during the Manchu rule (1644-1911) is found in a study by Fairbank and Teng.[6]

The list of countries from which Tribute Embassies visited China, as recorded in the Chinese archives, is a material aid to determining the nature and veracity of Chinese claims. Thus with Korea, Annam, Siam, Burma, Laos, Sulu, Nepal and Dzungars are entered Russia, Holland, Portugal, the Pope and England as tribute-bearers. The dates for the European missions are: Russia 1676 and 1727 ; Holland 1663, 1667, 1686 and 1794 ; Portugal 1670, 1678, 1752 and 1753 ; Pope 1725 and England 1793, 1795, 1805 and 1816. The status of these Western powers on the recorded dates is a commonplace with an average Asian school-boy to-day and it does not entail any research to find out whether these sovereign bodies would ever despatch tribute to China.

The notions of sovereignty, ancient or modern, had however no place in the Mandarin law of nations which divided the world into civilized and barbarian halves. Thus tribute could be 'accepted' from a body of barbarians, merchants or travellers without knowledge or concurrence of the country concerned. Hence the townships and monasteries of many Asian countries are recorded as tribute-bearers. Some cities entered are Aden, Calicut, Herat, Medina, Rum, Samarkand and Tashkent ; Northern Shan tribes of Burma and Eastern (Khams-Amdo) tribes of Tibet carrying 'tributes' from temples are also there. The Dalai Lama of the Yellow Church was not denied the 'honour' of tribute-bearer in the State-papers or Mandarin historiography. The Mandarin law of nations has been most ably expressed by a Chinese in English language thus: 'If relations there had to be, they must be of the suzerain—vassal type, acceptance of which meant to the Chinese acceptance of the Chinese ethic on the part of the barbarian.'[7]

The Tibetan description of their 'tribute' has been consistently *Rten-chas,* that is, articles or precious articles for presentation. Even the official biography of Dalai Lama VII, who was a protege of the Manchu Emperor, uses the term *Rten-chas.* The articles with which the Manchu reciprocated the Lama's presents are also described in Tibetan records as *Rten-chas.* The same term was used for gifts exchanged between high personages like priests and kings all over the Lamaist world.

It is not to be understood that the Tibetan language has no word for tribute. There are two words: *Khral* and *Dpya,* both standing for tax as well as tribute and both widely current from ancient times. Lhasa epigraphs and Tun Huang manuscripts preserve the record of the great warrior kings of Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries exacting tribute from the Tang Emperors and their subjects.[8] The Chinese annals grimly record the failure of expeditions against the Tibetans but wisely omit the tribute to the barbarian kings.

The content of the *Rten-chas* and the protocol of its presentation are also relevant. The most important item was *Rten-gsum* (Three Articles), that is, an image, a scripture and a *stupa* (Tib. *Mchod-rten*). The Three Articles are a must from a priest to a priest or from a priest to his disciple. The loads containing articles like the Tibetan serge with the famous spot-design, incense made from sixty ingredients and rhinoceros horns had no doubt commercial value but were not the essence of the gift. The leading officer carrying the presents was a high monk; he had to visit first the ancient Ri-bo-tse-lnga temple dedicated to Manjusri. This temple was on a mountain with five peaks (in Chinese, *Wu-tai-Shan*) in a Mongol area of northern Shansi province and closely connected with Lamaism from the times of Sakya Lamas and Kubilai Khan. After worship of Manjusri here the delegation carrying presents proceeded towards Peking. Such presents were sent every three years and the Most High Manchu had to reciprocate with gifts valued upto three times those from Tibet. Such exchange of articles had a trade aspect for peoples of Turkestan, Tibet and Mongolia and kept the doors of China open for these barbarians. The Dalai Lama—Manchu affair was however somewhat distinct. The exchange of greetings and gifts was between a

Priest and his Patron. The gift from the Priest had an aura of Mahayana ritual: the essence of the gift was Three Articles (image, sacred book and *stupa*); the gift-bearer had to make a detour to worship at the ancient shrine of Manjusri and then arrived at Peking to hand over the gift to the incarnation of Manjusri. When the Manchu dynasty fell and the incarnation of Manjusri was expelled (1911) the Priest-Patron relationship was over. Dalai Lama XIII stopped the despatch of presents to Peking and the Republic of China never had such gift from Tibet.

LAMAIST POLITY

The fact of the matter is that Lamaist polity as it functioned till recent times cannot be expressed in the language of Roman law. The notions of Austinian sovereignty, which came to possess the entire mankind at the opening of this century, but which had taken three centuries to crystallize into practice in Europe, did not enter into the making of the Lamaist polity. This thesis is contained in a projected paper nearing completion shortly. A short notice of the issue involved is made below.

The (modern) State has its indispensable constituent in a (firm) territory. The Lamaist State had its indispensable constituent in a community rendering allegiance to the particular ruling monastery. In the ecology of Tibet and Mongolia, floating communities were the norm as was in the earliest stage of Indian polity. *Janapada* as a constituent of the ancient Indian State was more the community than the territory[9] and floating States consisting of ethnic or occupational communities flourished in historical times.[10]

In the Lamaist world, a ruling monastery could levy tithes in an obviously foreign land and could even carve out 'enclaves' there, while it tolerated and permitted communities of foreign (non-Buddhist) traders to settle with 'ex-territorial' privileges in its own country. Much of the law, in the Lamaist world, had its sanction in custom or priestly reprisal and sovereign powers were not centralized. The position about sovereignty had a parallel in several non-Lamaist countries of Asia, though under different socio-economic forces. Confronted with the facts of Asia, several British jurists admitted the incompatibility of Roman law with Asian conditions.[11]

Asia at the opening of this century presents a paradox for students of historical jurisprudence. While Westerners were reading their notions of territorial State and monistic sovereignty into the mediaeval history of the highlands of Asia, Mongol intellectuals fighting Chinese imperialism strove in vain to erect a Pan-Buddhist Lamaist State covering the Mongols and the Tibetans.[12]

REFERENCES

1. A paper entitled 'The Missing Context of Chos' in the *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Sikkim), vol. II, no. 3 is relevant on this point.

2. *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Methuen 1965), p. 186.

3. Handy accounts of Sino Tibetan relations till 1950 are found in Dalai Lama: *My Land and My People* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962) and H. E. Richardson: *Tibet and Its History* (Oxford University Press, 1962). The *Bulletin of Tibetology* has two articles entitled 'Historical Status of Tibet' (vol. I, no. 1) and 'Tibet's Status during the World War' (vol. II, no. 2).

4. I owe my copy of this Tibetan translation to the well-known scholar, Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, formerly a monk-official in Dalai Lama's secretariat and now resident in New Delhi. I am, however, responsible for restoration into English of the relevant passage.

5. F. Lessing: *Yong Ho Kung, An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking*, vol. I (Stockholm: Statens Etnografisca Museum, 1942), p. 59.

6. J. K. Fairbank and S. Y. Teng: 'On the Ching Tributary System in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vi (1941). Since the publication of this paper further work in this field has been done by several scholars. I depend heavily on Fairbank and Teng for the Chinese point of view and facts from Chinese annals and archives. The conclusions, particularly about Tibet, are mine.

7. T. F. Tsiang quoted by Fairbank and Teng.

8 Charles Bell: *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 274 and H. E. Richardson: *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1952), p. 21; also his paper entitled 'A Fragment from Tun Huang' in the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, vol. II, no. 3.

9. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar: *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (Banaras Hindu University, 1963), pp. 60-61, 68-69 and 91-92.

10. Many of these communities were relics of pre-Aryan/non-Aryan tribes. Vide, for example, B. H. Baden-Powell: *The Indian Village Community* (London: Longmans, 1896) and Robert Shafer: *Ethnography of Ancient India* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1954).

11. E.g. Henry Maine (1822-1888), Law Member of the Governor-General's Council (India) 1862-69, wrote after his Indian experience *Village Communities in the East and West* (1871-76), *Early History of Institutions* (1875) and *Dissertation on Early Law and Custom* (1883).

12. A Buriat Buddhist, Agwang Dorjiev, was the leader of this ill-fated movement. Dorjiev's contacts with Dalai Lama XIII determined Lord Curzon's policy of forcing a mission into Tibet. For an account of Dorjiev see R. Rupen: *Mongols of the Twentieth Century* (Indiana University Press, 1964). The background of Anglo-Russian diplomacy is found in two papers in *Royal Central Asian Journal* (London): P. L. Mehra, 'Tibet and Russian Intrigue' in vol. XLV, pt. I, and Alastair Lamb, 'Some Notes on Russian Intrigue in Tibet' in vol. XLVI, pt. I.

MAN-CHU-SHIH-LI :

AN ESSAY ON POLITY AND RELIGION IN INNER ASIA

I

"I was a Catholic in France, a Protestant in Germany, a Papist in Rome and a Muhammadan in Egypt." When Napoleon summed up his foreign policy in these cryptic words he was not aware of a prototype in the Manchu Emperor ruling over China, Tibet, Mongolia and Turkestan besides his homeland of Manchuria.

An emperor of China could not but be a Confucian (and a Taoist) and must of necessity lead a Confucian government. Otherwise the Son of Heaven would be a barbarian par excellence. Besides the Son of Heaven, whether Han or not, must "use the barbarians to control the barbarians" (*i i chih i*). The Manchu—a non-Han, that is, barbarian—answered the command of tradition to the satisfaction both of his native barbarian interest and his Confucian kingdom.

II

For about one thousand years an exotic religion, Buddhism, had prevailed with varying fortunes as a rival to the native religions of China. Eventually it survived as a religion of a small minority and even as such was metamorphosed into, what is called in academic circles, Chinese Buddhism.

Denial of soul, equality for all (men as well as women) and immunities for the monks as in Buddhism encountered ancestor worship, privileges of the literati and refuge in the Son of Heaven as in Chinese tradition. Thus even when Buddhism prospered and counted a large number of devotees it did not wipe out old sentiments or old sacrifices. This is true of Buddhism's most prosperous days of the great Tang dynasty (618-907).

In 624 Fu-yi, the scholar who wielded much influence on the Court, submitted a memorial to the Emperor. The publicity of the Buddhist texts, in Fu-yi's words, "began to adversely affect the faith of the Princes and filial piety began to degenerate.

The people began to shave their heads and refused to bow their heads to the Princes and their ancestors". The memorial was responsible for a period of persecution of Buddhism. The revocation of the persecution was not a little due to Chinese interest in Khotan-Turfan where Buddhism was a popular creed and from where, in the words of Fu-yi, "Buddhism infiltrated into China under a strange and barbarous form".

In 819 Emperor Hsien-tsung arranged for the adoration of some relics of the Buddha. This drew forth a protest from the scholar Han-yu who also held a high office in the state. This memorial remains a landmark in China's history as it is a masterpiece in China's literature. Han-yu's objection to the adoration of "the bone of a man long since dead and decomposed" was prefaced with these words: "For Buddha was a barbarian. His language was not the language of China. His clothes were of an alien cut. He did not utter the maxims of our ancient rulers nor conform to the customs which they have handed down. He did not appreciate the bond between prince and minister, the tie between father and son". The Emperor was furious and wished to execute the memorialist. But Han-yu's friends were many and persuaded the Emperor to award a token punishment. It was the honourable banishment as governor of a distant town.

By the end of the twelfth century Buddhism as a distinct religion in China was definitely on the decline. Much of its ethics was absorbed into or identified with Confucian code and the Buddha with his Arhats were enrolled in the Taoist pantheon. Symbolic of these developments was the early metamorphosis of the Naga motif. Naga, the custodian and protector of the Secret Teachings/Transcendental Wisdom, is an animal with the man's head and the serpent's body. In the Tang period the symbol of the Ancestor's Spirit, namely, the dragon, was no longer a rival of the Naga to symbolize Mahayana but the standard motif. Later from Siberia to the Indian Ocean the dragon was the universal symbol of Mahayana.

The decline of Buddhism in China was hastened by Chu-hsi (1130-1200), a Confucian scholar who had absorbed much of Buddhist metaphysics and mysticism and then launched his attack on the "barbarian religion". Under this attack Buddhism lost the Court patronage and having never been a State religion quietly went out.

When Buddhism returned to the Court it was under the auspices of barbarian kings and barbarian priests: the Mongol Khans from Altai-Karakorum and the Lamas from Sakya (Tibet). Symbolically enough the Court assembled in a new metropolis, Khanbalyk (Kambalu). In Chinese tradition Khanbalyk came to be known as Peking as the Mongol dynasty got the 'civilized' nomenclature of Yuan. The Yuans, that is, Kubilai and his successors, ruled China from 1270 to 1368. They no doubt patronized Buddhism. This Buddhism was however not Chinese Buddhism but Lamaism whose followers were the races beyond the Great Wall. The last years of the last Yuan witnessed an agitation in favour of Confucianism and against the ascendancy of the Lamas in Peking. The replacement of the Yuan by a native dynasty (Ming) is significantly celebrated in Chinese annals as the Restoration, though this Restoration does not deter the modern Chinese historians from claiming the Mongol conquests all over Asia as Chinese achievements. The Ming Emperors (1368-1644) in their relations with Buddhism were guided by considerations about the races beyond the Wall. Thus they patronized Buddhism while promulgating special decrees to control the monks and priests. The third Ming even invited the founder of the Yellow Sect, Tsong-kha-pa (d. 1417), to visit the Court and received Tsong-kha-pa's representative with honour and respect. The Mings had early discerned that the Yellow Sect Lamas were bidding for temporal power and would be quite worldly wise to be ever strong with the stronger side. But while the Yellow Sect was busy in converting the Mongol tribes, the Mings were engaged in meeting internal disorders and Manchu inroads. The Manchus conquered China in 1644 and shortly afterwards the Manchu Emperor was recognized as the incarnation of Man-chu-shih-li (Chinese for Manjusri) by the head of the Yellow Sect who was the incarnation of Avalokitesvara.

III

Manjusri represents Prajna (Tib. shes-rab) or Wisdom while Avalokitesvara represents Karuna (Tib. snying-rje) or Compassion and possession of both Wisdom and Compassion is essential for a Bodhisattva (Tib. byang-chub-sems-dpah). While in the early Mahayana Wisdom has precedence over Compassion, in the later Mahayana this status is reversed. Manjusri has to yield his ascendancy to Avalokitesvara as Altruism in the shape of Bodhisattva displaces Self-Enlightenment in the shape of Pratyekabuddha (Tib. rang-sangs-rgyas). The change of status between Manjusri and Avalokitesvara can be best described in the following words of HAR DAYAL (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature,* London 1932).

"The early Mahayana recognizes an oligarchy of bodhisattvas, and eight are mentioned as a group of equal rank. Perhaps Manjusri is regarded as *primus inter pares.* In the later Mahayana, the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues, powers, functions and prerogatives of the other bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without a rival".

Thus when the Bodhisattva doctrine migrated from India to the Trans-Himalayas it did so under the auspices so to say of the Lord Paramount, that is, Avalokitesvara. King Srong-btsan-sgam-po (605-650) who made Buddhism the state religion in Tibet was recognized to be an incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Spyan-ras-gzigs) while his minister Thomi Sambhota was found to be an incarnation of Manjusri (Tib. Hjam-dpal). This secular ranking of the two Bodhisattvas followed the Mahayana pantheon as it had evolved in India and determined the future trend of politics in Lamaist countries.

For eight hundred years after Srong-btsan-sgam-po no king or priest appears to have attained the position of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Spyan-ras-gzigs). Some of the kings called Chos-rgyal (Tib. for Dharmaraja) were occasionally designated Avalokitesvara as were some priests. Such designation however did not circulate beyond the palace or monastery concerned. In any case no lineage of Avalokitesvara functioned anywhere. The ruler-priests of Kargyu (Karma) and Sakya sects traced descent from Vajradhara (Tib. Rdo-rje-hchang) and Manjusri (Tib. Hjam-dpal) but none dared to designate himself as Avalokitesvara. The line of Yellow Sect incarnations, soon to be known as the Dalai Lamas, made the bid for the lineage of Avalokitesvara and succeeded in obtaining recognition to such title from all Sects. The incarnation of Spyan-ras-gzigs (pronounced Chen-re-zi) became the temporal authority over all Sects besides being the spiritual authority over his own Gelugpa (Yellow Sect). The scattered remnants of the old Tibetan monarchy and the small principalities as well as the Karma and Sakya priest-kings rendered the Dalai Lamas a positive allegiance, the precise nature of which can hardly be described in the language of Roman law or modern phraseology.

The Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) significantly designated their government as Dgah-ldan-pho-brang (Government of Heaven) which soon became a sovereign authority in its own right. No secular body was to share this sovereignty with the Dga-ldan-pas (Heavenly Beings). The Lama was now the final authority in society and government.

The Lama was already 'the one with none above'. As the ancient adage ran 'Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist' (*bla-ma med-pahi gong-rol-na sangs-rgyas-bya-bai ming-yang med*). Characteristically in Tibet 'Refuge in Three Gems' was not sufficient and the recitation was amended to "I take refuge in the Lama: I take refuge in the Buddha: I take refuge in the Dharma: I take refuge in the Sangha." The Lama, corresponding to Guru in Sanskrit, is the first refuge as the Lama is the indispensable medium. Thus the Dalai Lama, as the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Spyan-ras-gzigs = Chen-re-zi), became the Real Refuge or Precious Protector (Tib. Skyabs-mgon sbug/Skyab-mgon-rin-po-che) for all irrespective of Sects. Chen-re-zi was Chos-rgyal-chen-po (Mahadharmaraja) for all Nang-pas (Tib. for Bauddha) irrespective of their sectarian and territorial loyalties.

IV

An alliance between Chen-re-zi and Manchu-shih-li was in the logic of history.

The Yellow Sect in its zeal for reforming the Sangha found it necessary to capture political power all over Tibet and resort to sanction in temporal sense. The Mongol devotees provided such sanction but the floating Mongol tribes could not compare in stability or dignity with the Son of Heaven. On the decline of Mongol interest in Tibet (1640s) the Great Fifth (Dalai Lama V 1617-82) looked for alignment with China. It so happened that the then Son of Heaven was a barbarian (Manchu). The Manchu Emperor, called Ching in China, was nothing short of a Janus. His newly conquered empire of China demanded all energies in winning over and pacifying the natives. On the otherhand the homeland of Manchuria was to be fully secured against the Mongols, particularly when the Mongols did not differ so much from the Manchus as the

Manchus from the Chinese. In fact acquisition of all Mongolia was not less precious than the retention of the hold on China. A peaceful means of this acquisition was alliance with the Dalai Lama whom the scattered Mongol tribes rendered allegiance.

Dalai Lama V visited Peking in 1652-53 in response to repeated invitations from Emperor Shun-chih. The Manchu, notwithstanding the contrary advice of his Chinese counsellors, treated the Lama as an independent sovereign. In return the Lama undertook to exert his influence with the Mongols to preserve peace and to cease raids on Manchuria or China. Under the doctrines of non-violence and peace the Mongols became less warlike while the growth of monastic communities tempered their native mobility. The Yellow Sect on the otherhand became absolute in Tibet under the Manchu umbrella.

The Manchu investment earned its dividends in 1688. For some years previous to this the Mongol princes were much exercised over choice of alignment with the Russian Tsar or the Manchu Son of Heaven. In 1688 the princes handed over the decision to the Hutukhtu of Urga, the highest Mongol incarnation and second to the Dalai Lama in the entire Yellow Sect. The Hutukhtu decided in favour of the Manchu alignment. In 1691 Emperor Kang-hsi came to Dolon Nor to receive the oath of allegiance from the body of 24 princes. The Mongol annals, however, trace the genesis of this allegiance to a document of 1636 by which the Mongol tribes had recognized the Manchu overlordship "as long as Sun, Moon and Manchu flourish".

At the sametime the Manchu became Man-chu-shih-li. In the beginning, long before their conquest of China, their dynastic nomenclature (Manchu) was adapted from Manju, a word widely prevalent among the Mongols. It had then no religious context for the Manchu. Manjusri was however a popular deity for the Mongols from the time of Kubilai Khan and the Sakya Lamas. Therefore when the Manchu Emperor was to be enrolled as an incarnation he could with profit be the incarnation of Manjusri. It gave the Emperor much advantage vis-a-vis the Mongols. Chen-re-zi being the Lord Paramount of the pantheon Dalai Lama's status continued undiminished. That accounts for Dalai Lama V being received as a sovereign by the Manchu Emperor.

Later the Manchu concern and respect for the Lamas and intimacy with the Jesuits led to a Confucian agitation against

Buddhism and Christianity. The Lamas were necessary links with Mongolia and Tibet while the Jesuit knowledge of mathematics, astronomy and geography was no less indispensable for imperial statecraft. Kang-hsi (1662-1723) gave to the Confucian literati all that imperial favour could give and made a show of chastising heterodoxy. In his famous edict of 1705 Kang-hsi appealed for harmony between Buddhism and Confucianism thus: "We since our boyhood have been earnest students of Confucian lore and have had no time to become minutely acquainted with the sacred books of Buddhism, but we are satisfied that Virtue is the one word which indicates what is essential in both systems. Let us pray to the compassionate Kuan-yin that she may of her grace send down upon our people the spiritual rain and sweet dew of the good Law: that she may grant them bounteous harvests, seasonable winds and the blessings of peace, harmony and long life and finally that she may lead them to the salvation which she offers to all beings in the Universe". (Kuan-yin is the Chinese word for Avalokitesvara whose worship in female form was popular in China and Japan.)

While Kang-hsi asked for the blessings of peace and harmony, his son Yung-chen (1723-36) built the famous Lamaist cathedral in Peking and named it The Palace of Harmony (Yung-ho-kung). The Manchu quest for "harmony" is expounded in the Dissertation on Lamaism composed by Kang-hsi's grand-son Chien-lung in 1792 ; it is engraved on a marble stele in Yung-ho-kung.

Chien-lung (1736-96)—who consolidated the Manchu overlordship in Tibet and Mongolia, who showed how long was the Manchu arm by chastising the Gurkhas in Tibet and who received "the Red Barbarian bearing tribute" (British Ambassador Lord Macartney 1793)—had to answer to his Confucian ministers and counsellors for his own "barbarian bias" towards the Lamas. In his Dissertation on Lamaism Chieng-lung admitted that "Lama means without superior" but made a painstaking protest that he or his own ancestors did not "worship the Lamas" as did the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty.

"As the Yellow Church inside and outside (of China proper) is under the supreme rule of these two men (Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama), all the Mongol tribes bear allegiance to them. By patronizing the Yellow Church we maintain peace among the Mongols. This being an important task we cannot but protect this (religion). (In doing this) we do not show any bias, nor do we wish to adulate the Tibetan priests as (was done by the) Yuan dynasty".

The Dissertation on Lamaism was in fact the testament of Chien-lung for his son and sucessors as it was a self-justification addressed to the Confucian literati. Chien-lung in old age was a much tired and much troubled ruler. In 1796 he had completed sixty years of reign and refused to exceed the long tenure of his grand-father Kang-hsi. He abdicated to observe filial piety and lived in retirement for three more years. Known as the glorious epilogue to the most glorious reign Chieng-lung's abdication was a premonition for the lineage of Man-chu-shih-li.

Chien-lung in his Dissertation claimed two specific achievements in Tibet. He had laid down certain procedure for installation of the two Grand Lamas; in this, drawing lot from a golden urn was the central ritual. Whether this was in keeping with the current Tibetan sentiment or not, this was a mark of Manchu overlordship as the Manchu representative was to draw the lot along with a Lama. Secondly when the Gurkhas invaded Tibet with the support of the Red Sect (1790), the Manchu forces came to the rescue of the Yellow Sect; the Gurkhas were "chastised and reduced to abject submission". These claims are true and stand as testimony to the Manchu overlordship at the end of the eighteenth century.

Nineteenth century witnessed an irrevocable reversal of the picture. Suffering from corruption and inefficiency in his own government the Manchu Emperor could no longer take any active interest in politics or religion of Tibet or Mongolia. When in 1855 the Gurkhas invaded Tibet, Tibet had to fend for itself. In 1903-4 Britain invaded Tibet with China not in the picture; the Dalai Lama sought refuge in Mongolia. On both occasions Tibet made terms with the aggressor and concluded treaties without China's participation.

Nineteenth century found four successive Dalai Lamas (IX-XII) die in their minority; the unseen hand of destiny remains obscure. The next (Dalai Lama XIII) was chosen (1876) without the procedure of lot from the Golden Urn and reached the age of 57 when he passed away in 1933. The Golden Urn was discredited and defunct even before the Mauchu was expelled from Peking (1911-12). The present incarnation of Chen-re-zi (Dalai Lama XIV b. 1935) was identified to the full satisfaction of the Nangpa (Tib. for Bauddha) and no "Chinese rites" entered into the choice.

A Lama is not to bow to a secular authority and the Manchu was a secular authority. Even as an incarnation of Man-chu-shih-li he could not expect salutation from the Dalai Lama, an incarnation of Chen-re-zi. The Manchu could not become the head of the church as no Dalai Lama designated him Chos-rgyal (Dharmaraja). In 1908 when Dalai Lama XIII called on the Manchu at Peking he had to touch the ground with the right knee, it is said on the insistence of the Dowager Empress. The Emperor (Kuang-hsu) as well as the Dowager died five weeks later and the Expulsion of the Manchu came after another three years. The sacrilege brought forth the right retribution, as the Tibetans and Mongols felt. The inexorable laws of Karma, that is how Dalai Lama XIII explained the Expulsion.

V

With the Expulsion of the Manchu Tibet and Mongolia broke away from China. In November 1911 the princes of Mongolia declared their independence and proclaimed the Hutukhtu of Urga as the Ruler of Mongolia; immediately after the proclamation of the Republic in China (January 1912) the Mongol tribes affirmed allegiance to Urga. Dalai Lama XIII designated himself as the Pontiff of Buddhism and Ruler of Tibet by Command of the Buddha (summer 1912).

The Chinese Republic made fruitless efforts to succeed to the rights of the Manchu Emperor. The Patron-Priest relations, like Manjusri-Avalokitesvara relations, do not devolve under the rules of state succession. President Yuan-shih-kai resorted to an anachronistic ruse. He got the deposed Emperor (Pu-yi b. 1906) issue an edict in November 1912 that there should be a union of Five Races (Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans and Muhammadans). Tibet and Mongolia retorted by conclusion of a treaty in January 1913 as between two independent countries.

The vicissitudes of the quondam Man-chu-shih-li (Emperor Pu-yi), Emperor of Manchu-kuo in 1934-45 and now a state-archivist in the People's Republic of China, provide material for a fascinating though pitiful story in the masterly pen of a Sinologist (Mc. Aleavy: *A Dream of Tartary*, London 1963).

The eventful life of the quondam Man-chu-shih-li is not over yet. If as a child of six Pu-yi could oblige the Republic with an edict about Five Races, in his sixties he can oblige the People's Republic with an edict about Two Races (Tibetans and Mongols). When Chen-re-zi has failed to conform Man-chu-shih-li may not.

Being in the nature of an essay footnotes are dispensed with. This essay anticipates a considerable portion of facts and arguments of my projected study of Lamaist polity. All Tibetan sources will be acknowledged appropriately in this study. For Chinese sources I acknowledge my indebtedness to Prabodh BAGCHI, Joseph EDKINS, Charles ELIOTT, Herbert GILES, Ferdinand LESSING, Owen LATTIMORE, Franz MICHAEL, Arthur WRIGHT and E. ZURCHER. For Mongol sources my guide is Cyben ZAMCARANO. I am however responsible for all inferences. A reader who seeks complete data in support of the non-conformist views presented here will have to be patient till the projected study on Lamaist polity is out.

THE LAMA

I

'Tibetan or Mongolian Buddhist monk'—that is how the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* explains the word Lama and this no doubt reflects the current English (or European) usage. Phrases like 'Land of Lamas', or 'Lamasery' are coined on this meaning of the word. Yet in Tibet, as in any other land of Lamas, the word Lama (properly transcribed BLA-MA) is restricted to a few categories of monks and priests and is not used indiscriminately for all monks and priests.

The word Lama means the Superior One or "the one who has no superior" and is taken to correspond to Guru or Uttara in Sanskrit ; a specific connotation is that one who can administer initiation (Skt. Diksha = Tib. Dbang) is a Lama. A Lama is thus not necessarily an incarnate (Tib. Sprul-sku = Skt. Nirmanakaya), while any incarnate is not ipso facto a Lama. Both Tibetan religious literature and Mongol/Manchu regulations testify to the spiritual authority and temporal immunities of the Lamas. Not unoften these immunities were claimed and enjoyed by other ranks of monks and priests and this added piquancy to the politics of Inner Asia.

II

The word Lama meaning preceptor or priest was in currency in Tibet before the advent of Buddhism and the priest in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion was, as is still, called Lama. Thus no new coinage was needed to render into Tibetan the Indian term Guru abounding in the Mahayana literature, particularly the treatises and tracts on Tantra ; there are numerous examples in Kanjur and Tanjur authenticating Lama for Guru. A historic example, and perhaps the first such, designating an Indian master as Lama is noticed in the grammar of Thonmi Sambhota, the reputed author of Tibetan script (circa 640). In his grammar Thonmi makes obeisance "to all the Lamas" (bla-ma rnam-la). Who are all these Lamas ? They would no doubt include the Indian masters with whom

Thonmi studied Indian script, Indian grammar and Indian metres. Shalu Lotsava in his commentary on Thonmi's grammar identifies two of these Lamas as Devavidya Simha and Lipidatta and calls them Thonmi's "own Lamas" (bdag-nyid kyi bla-ma).

The label of Lama for a Buddhist priest in Tibet commenced with Padmasambhava (circa 750). Appropriately known as Mahaguru or Guru Rinpoche, Padmasambhava not only vanquished the priests of Bon religion in encounters of miracle and polemic but also instituted an order of native priests for the preservation and propagation of the Dharma. The seven Tibetans ordained as monks by the Mahaguru are the first Lamas of Buddhism. They and their successors became the First Estate of the country and even monarchy took precedence after the Lamas. A royalist reaction allied with the Bon and launched a most cruel persecution of Buddhism. In desperation and against heavy odds the Lamas engineered a regicide (842). The monarchy was discredited; the royal house was divided and got dispersed while the Lamas grew in popularity and strength.

Without a spiritual guide an esoteric system (Skt. Tantra = Tib. Rgyud), as was the form of Dharma propagated in Tibet, cannot succeed. Thus Buddhism in Tibet begins with Guru (Lama) and the saviour of Buddhism in Tibet, Padmasambhava, goes down in history as the Guru. In the two centuries following the regicide (842) and the Buddhist priests' return to the Court, the formula for "Refuge in Three Gems" came to be prefixed with "Refuge in Lama". At the outset the refuge in Lama was for purely spiritual or moral needs. Being the custodian of the script (an import from the Land of Enlightenment) and being the organizer of the educational system (all schools were monastic), the Lama was destined to be the refuge in a much wider sense. On the breakup of centralized monarchy and on the dissolution of ancient land-holding, the abbot of a well-organized monastery would be the natural refuge for the common man in the neighbourhood. It is thus appropriate to note that the government of the Sakya Lamas for about a century (1250-1350) was as much due to the internal forces calling for monastic leadership as to the support of the Mongol Emperors. The Karmapa Lamas also, though to a lesser extent, wielded political power in parts of Tibet before the rise of Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Dalai Lamas ruled as Kings over all Tibet for roughly three centuries (1642-1950); it was admittedly the reign of Lamas. It is not necessary in the present context to detail the events of the Sakya, Karmapa and Dalai Lamas. Besides the complexities and niceties of the Lamaist polity cannot be handled in the space of this essay. It is however necessary to note here that much of the sectarian wars sprang from indisputable privileges and immunities of the Lamas.

In Mongolia propagation was first made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that is, during the period of Great Khans. Kubilai promulgated "a decree of two principles" laying down the relations between Church and State thus: "the Lama is the root of the High Religion and the lord of the Doctrine; the Emperor, the head of the Empire and the master of the secular power. The laws of the True Doctrine like the sacred silk cord, cannot be weakened; the laws of the Great Emperor, like the golden yoke, are indestructible." The *White Annals,* a contemporary chronicle obviously compiled under the Emperor's blessings, records this decree. (The excerpt is made from Zamcarano: *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* tr. Loewenthal, Wiesbaden 1955.) Several Mongol chronicles and the Tibetan chronicle *Hu-lan deb-ther* (*The Red Annals,* Gangtok 1961) refer to the decrees of Jenghiz Khan and his successors confirming the special prerogatives of the Lamas. All priests were exempted from taxes, military service and manual work for non-monastic purpose while the top ones enjoyed precedence over nobles and secular dignitaries. The Church-State relations in Mongolia, under the Great Khans, recall the Brahmanical theory of relations between the Purohita (Brahmana) and the Raja (Kshatriya) as in the colourful portrait of Coomaraswamy: *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942).

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the second propagation and the final victory of the Dharma in Mongolia. This propagation was made by the Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) and all temples and monasteries in Mongolia eventually subscribed to the Yellow Sect. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Yellow Sect became the central temporal authority in Tibet and shortly afterwards the head of the Yellow Sect, the Dalai Lama, became the priest and ally of the Manchu

Emperor. In Mongolia thus the Lamas soon became the First Estate par excellence.

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung (1736-96) in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism (1792), which he got inscribed on a marble stele in the Lamaist cathedral in Peking, said: "Buddhism originated in India and spread eastward. . . . Its barbarian priests are traditionally known as Lamas. The word Lama does not occur in Chinese books. . . . I have carefully pondered over its meaning and found that *la* in Tibet means "superior" and *ma* means "none". So *la-ma* means "without superior". . . . Lama also stands for Yellow Religion." (From Lessing's translation in *Yung-ho-kung,* Stockholm 1942).

The Lama was indeed "without superior" both in Tibet and Mongolia and the head of the Yellow Religion was the supreme "without superior." The head of the Yellow Sect—the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Spyan-ras-gzigs)—was the temporal ruler of Tibet. In Tibet he was known as Skyab-mgon Rin-poche (Precious Prime Refuge) or Rgyal-wa Rin-poche (Precious Conqueror). The Mongols addressed him as Dalai Lama. It is of historic significance that the Mongol form gained currency all over the steppes of Eurasia and the Mongol expression *dalai* (ocean) formed a prized loan-word in Tibetan language.

At the opening of the twentieth century the relations between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor had deteriorated due to fuller Confucianization of the Manchu House and the imperialistic designs of China. On the Expulsion of the Manchu (1911-1912), Dalai Lama XIII formally declared himself sovereign of Tibet by Command of the Buddha (summer 1912). Even then the Lamaist Buddhists in China continued to adore the Dalai Lama as the Refuge or Protector because the priest-disciple relations transcended secular or territorial loyalties.

In their first memorandum to the Tripartite Conference between Britain, China and Tibet the Tibetan Delegation described the situation thus: "Firstly, the relations between the Manchu Emperor and the Protector, Dalai Lama the fifth, became like that of the disciple towards the teacher. The sole aim of the then Government of China being to earn merits for this and for the next life, they helped and honoured successive Dalai Lamas and treated the monks of all the monasteries with respect. . . . Gradually the Chinese Emperor lost faith in the

Buddhist religion, and he treated the precious Protector, the Dalai Lama, with less respect. . . . At last the Tibetans, driven by sheer desperation, had to fight, which ended in the defeat of the Chinese. . . . The people of Mongolia and China send monks to the different monasteries in Tibet and also pay vast tributes to the monasteries. The Buddhist monasteries and other religious institutions in Mongolia and China recognise the Dalai Lama as their religious head. . . ." (English text as that of Lonchen Shatra reproduced on pages 1-6 of *The Boundary Question Between China, Britain and Tibet: A Valuable Record of the Tripartite Conference held in India* 1913-1914, Peking 1940).

III

Tibetan scholars with knowledge of Hindu society would liken the word *bla-ma* to Sanskrit *brahmana* and *brahma.* The literary and historical evidence culled above no doubt indicates that the Lama's status was not inferior to that of the Brahmana in Indian society.

The present writer is not a student of linguistics but would venture to point out a few facts in this connexion. It is not possible to transcribe satisfactorily in Tibetan *brahmana* or *brahma* as in Tibetan *br* has the sound *d.* A Brahmin (who usually came from Nepal) was called *bram* (pronounced *dam/dram*) and oftener *bram-ze* (pronounced *damje*) after (Nepalese) Baje (cf. Sarat Das: *Dictionary* p. 896). On the other hand Skt. *brahma* could change into Tib. *blama* through dialects of eastern India. In the eastern dialects *r* often changes into *l* as Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji amply demonstrated four decades ago (*Origin and Development of Bengali Language,* Calcutta 1926, pp. 484-5). So *brahma* to *blahma* would be natural for the Mongoloid groups not adequately 'Aryanised'. These were groups living in and around Bengal and Assam. In parts of Bengal and Assam *h* is not pronounced with the result that in common speech *brahma* and *brahmana* are pronounced as *bamma* and *bammon.* (On the loss of *h* and aspirates in Nepali and Bengali see Chatterji: op. cit., pp. 444, 557 and same author's *Indo-Aryan and Hindi,* Calcutta 1960, pp. 111-113). If we add to this the fact that in Tibetan there is no short *a* and that every *a* is long *a* it is not difficult to accept *bla-ma* as the Tibetan for *brahma.*

[In Tibet itself change of *r* into *l* would not be unusual. When Ra-sa (place of goats) became the cathedral city the change of name was no problem. It was called Lha-sa (place of gods).]

[It is relevant to cite here the suggestion of an Assamese scholar, Mr. Bishnu Rabha, that the name of the river Brahmaputra is derived from Mongoloid Bhullam-buthur (making a gurgling sound). Vide Chatterji: *Kirata-jana-krti,* Calcutta 1951, pp. 47-48. It was not a one way traffic; if Sanskrit *r* could change into Mongoloid *l,* Mongoloid *l* could change into Sanskrit *r*.]

IV

The present paper notices any similarity between the status (and role) of the Brahmana and that of the Lama and does not suggest any identity in the charism sported by both. That question entails investigation into (*i*) the respective theories of salvation in Brahmanism (Hinduism) and Buddhism (Mahayana) and (*ii*) the mechanics of living among predominantly agricultural and settled peoples as in the plains of India and among predominantly pastoral and nomadic peoples as in the highlands of Tibet. While this task will take considerable time to complete, it may be stated in conclusion here that a Brahmana is born with the status while a Lama is not born with such status.

INDIAN PANDITS IN THE LAND OF SNOW

I

GHANG-CHEN, or the land abounding in snow, is a native name for what the outsiders call Tibet. Ghang-chen has been more universal than the other description Po-Yul and was the proper usage in a context when India was described as Phag-Yul corresponding to Aryabumi in Sanskrit. Ghang-chen, in Tibetan lexicons, corresponds to Himavat.

When Tibet adopted and absorbed Buddhism she made her own the words found in the original medium, that is, Sanskrit. A systematic and planned endeavour covering a few generations resulted in the most astounding translation from one language into another. While well grounded in etymology the new coinage represented the best native diction. Sanskrit proper names conveying some virtue or fact were also rendered into native idiom. Yet a few Sanskrit words like Guru or Karma gained currency in preference to their Tibetan equivalents. Thus while Sangye (for Buddha) or Konchog-Sum (for Triratna) was absolutely good form satisfying the head as well as the heart, Pandita was the only acceptable description for an Indian monk-scholar. Eventually Pandita became the proper honorific for Tibetan and Mongol scholars too. The word Pandita thus stands out as a monument of the migration of Buddhism and Buddhist learning into Trans-Himalayan highlands.

Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow introduces the reader into that subject. Published in 1893 the book still remains a convenient and useful introduction. This book presents the four lectures which Sarat Chandra Das gave for the educated but not the specialist type of people. The venue was not the eminent academic body, Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose library was enriched with the Tibetan collection of Das and whose research output gained in variety and quality with Das's original contributions. Though not intended for the consumption of academic classes, these lectures carried the authority of the great academician and were informed with data which had just come to light. Most of these were Das's own discovery. Not unnaturally even today a specialist has to reckon with this book.

The book contains chips from a workshop where the raw materials were Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and Chinese.

II

In the light of discoveries and findings made in the course of the last seventy years *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* is no doubt somewhat out of date and in places incorrect. Before we proceed to point any specific inaccuracies about the Indian Pandits or the Land of Snow, we may notice some notions which very much influenced the researches of Indologists in Asia or Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Thanks to Maxmuller and other savants, racial affinities came to be attributed to linguistic affinities and scholars of a subject India found solace in the theory of Aryan stock. Much of Das's talk about Aryan purity and Aryan greatness was the outcome of that school of anthropology. No present day scholar of Calcutta or Patna will be much upset if it is really proved that Siddhartha Gautama the Buddha was not of pure Aryan stock. It is now calmly asserted that the greatness of Anga-Magadha and later Vanga was due to their being not tied to the Vedic authority or Aryavarta complex.

Secondly, Buddhism never attained the degree of success in China as it had done in Burma or Indo-China and never affected the life and sentiments of the people there as in Tibet. The truth about Buddhism in China is however still not very clear. Tibetans had their own misgivings about Chinese Buddhism and refused to accept the exposition of the Sacred Doctrine from Chinese Buddhist scholars. The Indian Kamalasila's victory over the Chinese Hoshang leading to the expulsion of the Chinese school from Tibet was the reflex of Tibetan mind. This tradition did not undergo any change even in the period of the most intimate relations between the Dalai Lamas and the Manchu Emperors: Tibetan priests and monks could expound the Doctrine in Peking while the Buddhists from China could visit Lhasa only as pilgrims. There is nothing much to connect the tradition of Indian monks and scholars in China with that of Indian monks and scholars in Tibet. Das's account of Indian Pandits in China is thus not quite relevant.

In the spread of the Doctrine further north, in north-west Asia and even Eastern Europe, the Mongols played a leading role. This was ignored by the scholars at the end of the last century and to such scholars Chengiz Khan's place in history was as a scourge of mankind. Das was no exception to such view. Historical perspective of mankind has now taken a fairer and more accurate view of Chengiz. As a military genius he was second to none of the warriors of ancient and medieval times. In the esteem of Ata Malik Juvaini (1226-1283), Alexander of Macedon could have been a worthy pupil of Chengiz of Korakorum. Chengiz was no less great as a constructive and political genius. Tibet hastened to pay homage and was not subjected to wanton invasion. The actual effect of the wars of Chengiz was the creation of a world trade under Pax Mongolica leading to a concept of world market. Caravans from Sarai to Karakorum moved as safely as those between Sakya and Kambalu. Buddhism itself constituted a commodity in such movements. In two generations Buddhism became the established church but not a jealous mistress. Christianity (Nestorian), Islam and native Shamanism had full freedom and the bureaucracy of the empire included believers of all faiths. This heritage of the Mongol Empire is of relevance to Indian history. The Great Moghuls of India were liberals in an age of bigotry and intolerance and the first five consciously or unconsciously represented in varying degrees the temper of their northern forbears.

III

At the time of the publication of *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* knowledge about ancient India or spread of Buddhism was not much. Even about Asoka the specialist had not much to say. Since then a wealth of materials, literary and archaeological, has been discovered in India, Tibet and Turkestan.

A fairly satisfactory political history of India in the ancient period is now available and this enables us to have a more adequate account of state patronage to propagation of Buddhism as well as the private individual efforts of monks and scholars from different parts of India. We know more about Asoka and Kanishka or Nagarjuna and Asanga than the students of 1890s. We have a larger knowledge of Mahaguru Padmasambhava: born in Swat Valley (Suvastu Skt./Seostris Gk.) and educated in Nalanda he wandered all over the Himalayas as a Siddha; he defeated the champions of Bon (native religion of Tibet) in disputations as well as miracles and founded the monastic system in Tibet in the second half of the eighth century. Active liaison between some Siddhas of eastern India and the mystic saints in Tibet is now accepted as historically true. We now know more about cultivation of Sanskrit learning in centres like Sakya, Tashi-lhunpo and Derge under auspices of other Pandits from India. History of the Pala kings is no longer in nebulous stage; Karna the invader of Magadha, when Atisa was preparing for his journey to Tibet, is now known to be the Chedi Emperor of Central India and not the Kanauj ruler as Das suggested.

The term Bengali used for Atisa and many other scholars from eastern India will not be appropriate. The expressions Bengal and Bengali had varying content during the last two hundred years; the connotation would not be the same for the years 1783 (when Turner went to Tashi-lhunpo), 1893 (when *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* was published), and 1911 (when the provinces of Bihar and Bengal were separated). The Tibetan description of the relevant parts of eastern India has been consistently Vangala and this perhaps gives a better perspective of Indian history than modern words like Bihar or Bengal. Das believed that Dipankara Srijnana Atisa was a Bengali and a native of Vikrampur (Dacca: East Pakistan). In later days this was contested by Rahula Sankritvayana (d. 1963), the other great Tibetan scholar from India. Sankrityayana held that Atisa was a native of Bhagalpur (Bihar). Atisa spent three rainy seasons at Trag-Yerpa and expounded the Kalachakra there. From my visit to this famous monastery and my talks with Lamas there and elsewhere in Tibet I can only confirm that Atisa was a native of Vangala and that his birth place was towards the east of Vajrasana. Vangala, as a distinct cultural entity in Tibetan mind, roughly stretched from the confluence of the Ganga and the Sone to the confluence of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. The Buddhist centres of learning were located in Vangala, and Vajrayana was the dominant cult all over Vangala. It is sound to follow the Tibetan usage Vangala; one should not label the Pala Empire as Bengali or Bihari; one should not look for (modern) Bengali or Hindi in the Dohas composed by the Siddhas of Vajrayana.

Discovery of literary and archaeological materials in Tibet since the days of Das has given us a more connected history of Tibet. We know more about the evolution of the different

Tibetan sects: Nyingmapa, Kargyupa, Sakyapa and Gelugpa. Though he had covered the monasteries of all sects in his tours of Central Tibet, Das's researches were generally based on Gelugpa sources. Information from chronicles of other sects now enables us to have a balanced picture of the political history of Tibet, the conflict between the sects and the role of foreign powers (Mongols and Manchus) in the life of Tibet. Besides, some Tibetan books containing data on history of Mongolia and Turkestan have been found.

Khotan, Turfan and Tun-huang have yielded huge quantities of documents in different forms and different media. These are of much greater interest for Tibetan Buddhism than Chinese sources. It is now increasingly felt that Buddhism had entered Tibet long before Srong-tsan-gampo and much of it came via Khotan and Turfan. The development of Mahayana in Swat-Gilgit-Pamirs and the emergence of Tantric deities and rituals in these areas would be more relevant to history of Buddhism in Tibet than the work of Indian Pandits in China.

IV

Sarat Chandra Das obviously planned his lectures in answer to the specific requirements of his audience ; the presentation was much in anecdotal pattern and no modifications were made at the time of publication. Tibetan words and names were rendered phonetically though not uniformly and sometimes Mongol or Manchu forms of Tibetan designations were used. It is not an ordinary testimony to the book that in spite of the inaccuracies in its contents and the defects in its layout, it attracts both the specialist and the general reader. Here is an account by one who spoke both from observations as a traveller and from knowledge as a scholar.

Das did not visit Tibet as a prized invitee. His first contacts were incognito and till the end in the eyes of Lhasa authorities he was an agent of a power not friendly to Tibet. It is natural for such an agent to smell stink in the manners and morals of a people who do not welcome him. Thus Austine Waddell and Perceval Landon, medical officer and press attache respectively of the Younghusband expedition, collected enough slime to depict Tibet as a land of barbarians. If in the pages of Das one finds Tibet not so bad, it speaks as much of the objectivity of the observer as of the other side of the account.

Very recently much has been said against Tibetan pattern of life and society by sponsored visitors from the West.

Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow gives a picture of Tibet in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and on all admission Tibet remained much the same till 1950. This book, clearly hinting that the Lamas wielded power in government and society, tells that education in monastic schools—and all schools were monastic—was available for all and that the order of Lamas was "open to all". The education was free for the poor and would cost nominal fees for others. The residential monastic establishment was like "a free boarding school". The teacher was "a respectable member of the community" and treated the boys "with personal solicitude". The higher institutions, like the universities of Tashi-lhunpo, Sera, Drepung or Ganden, were open to talent and the rules of admission were rigidly enforced. "The higher offices of the State are opened only to those who are successful at the final examinations of the University". One also learns that "the much abused system of Tibetan polyandry" was "practically based on the principles of primogeniture".

Underlying all the manners and morals of the Land of Snow the author observed the quest for a better life, if not in this existence, in the succeeding existence. Quite relevantly considerable part of the book is devoted to the doctrine of metempsychosis, the belief in Karma and the institution of Bodhisattva (incarnation). In this connexion notice is made of introduction and spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

In the author's opinion the Lamaist hierarchy started with Atisa's disciple Dromton. The order of priests and monks begun by Dromton came to be known as Kadampa and was later merged in Tsong-khapa's sect, Gelugpa. In Gelugpa belief the Lamaist hierarchy began with Dromton and had its roots in India. On the other hand Lamaist hierarchy in Kargyupa sect is directly traced back to Tilopa and Naropa in India. The first hierarchs to exercise governmental authority were those of Sakya and Kargyu (Karma) monasteries. Much information on the history of the sects is now available thanks to Giuseppe Tucci and Hugh Richardson. Besides, Russian scholars like Bogoslovsky have made analytical study of social and economic conditions between seventh and eleventh centuries, the period during which Lamaism became the characteristic form of Tibetan life. While economic factors considerably determine the way of life, morals and polity, new ideas may play a role sometime. Did Tibet receive new ideas about society and polity from the theory of Bodhisattva and monastic institutions of India? Here is a challenge to Indian scholarship: to confirm or to contradict the theory of Indian origins of Lamaist hierarchy.

Appendix I is a poem by Colman Macaulay, a senior officer of the British Government in India, who organized the British probes in and through Sikkim into Tibet; stanza 8 pays tribute to the great scholarship of Das. Along with Appendix III this poem recall the fact that, because of his linguistic ability, Das was an important member of Macaulay's team; in 1885 Das accompanied Macaulay to Peking. The story of the abortive British attempt to enter Tibet under Chinese auspices in the 1880s can be read in two Anglo-Chinese agreements: Chefoo Convention of 1876 and Burma Convention of 1886. In the next attempt the British gave away to the Chinese, as a consideration for the latter's support to the former, Chumbi Valley (the nucleus of Sikkim kingdom) by a Convention in 1890. But neither the Convention of 1890 nor the succeeding Trade Regulations of 1893 could open Tibet for British trade though Yatung found a place in the map as a Chinese outpost. The final and successful British attempt was the military expedition under Younghusband.

Appendices II and V contain the picture of an interesting figure—an Indian ascetic wandering all over the steppes of Eurasia. Appendices IV and V speak of the Grand Lamas in 1780s; there is a reference to the Panchen Lama's emissaries to Varanasi, Vajrasana and Kalikata; the protocol and customary gifts marking relations between Grand Lamas and the Manchu Emperors are of importance; the Dalai Lama is described as the Sovereign Hierarch of Tibet.

THE MISSING CONTEXT OF CHOS

Recently Mr. Robert B. Ekvall, a scholar with many years' experience of China and eastern borderlands of Tibet, has made a remarkably original study of "Tibetan religious observances" and "their functional role" (*Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Function*, University of Chicago Press, 1964). Ekvall's novel study has provoked varied reactions among scholars of Mahayana as well as scholars of cultural anthropology. As a student of history—history of ideas and institutions of India and Central Asia, this writer is constrained to point out a basic lacuna in this work.

Either because of his acquaintance with China and Chinese Buddhism or perhaps because of his lack of acquaintance with the homeland of Buddhism, Ekvall often ignores the Indian background and seeks to find in China the meaning of Tibetan religious observances. His "examination and explanation of what the word Chos ("religion") comprehends in the context of Tibetan conceptualization and thought" is an example of this imbalance. He finds that Chos may cover anything from "a scrap of paper" to "knowledge, systems of thought, linguistic usage, and even forms of social organization". "Used in this way" reports Ekvall "it comprehends more of the whole of Tibetan thought and culture and occupies a position of even greater importance than the word *Tao* occupies in the context of Chinese thought and culture" (p. 67). Since Taoism or Confucianism does not provide key to this omnibus word, Ekvall quotes from a document of 28 October 1958 (Royal Charter of Incorporation of Namgyal Institute of Tibetology) to expound the wide connotation of Chos. What this scholar fails to notice is that the Lotsavas' acceptance of the Tibetan Chos as the correct equivalent of the Sanskrit Dharma[1] brought in its train all the diverse meanings of the Indian prototype. For a satisfactory definition of Chos, Ekvall had to hold "long and intensive discussion" with several eminent Tibetan scholars resident in USA (p. 104 f.n.) and even resorted to a Chinese dictionary (p. 105 f.n.); curiously enough he did not care to consult the traditional lexicons of Tibet. A look into the modern dictionary of Geshe Choda, which Ekvall uses on other points, would have given him an adequate definition of the word as understood in the original medium (Sanskrit), at least the ten meanings ascribed to Vasubandhu—

ཆོས་ནི་ཤེས་བྱ་ལམ་དང་ནི།
མྱ་ངན་འདས་དང་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ།
བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་དང་གསུང་རབ་དང་།
འབྱུང་འགྱུར་ངེས་དང་ཆོས་ལུགས་ལའོ། །

(Lhasa xylograph, Vol. I; also Peking edition, p. 272).

During his long sojourn in Eastern Tibet Ekvall should have noticed that next to the Six Mystic Syllables: Om Mani Padme Hum, the most widely spread inscription on stupas, temples and monasteries or on prayer wheels, images and instruments of rituals is that about *all those things springing from cause and liberation thereof* :

ཆོས་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུ་ལས་བྱུང་།
དེ་རྒྱུ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པས་གསུངས།
རྒྱུ་ལ་འགོག་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ།
དགེ་སྦྱོང་ཆེན་པོས་འདི་སྐད་གསུངས། །

that is, ये धर्मा हेतु प्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागनो ह्यवदन । तेषां च यो निरोधो एवं वादी महाश्रमणः ॥ Not unoften one finds the Sanskrit original in Uchen, sometimes in the archaic Lantsa. The present writer experienced this in the monasteries and temples of Central Tibet and is told by Khampa scholars that this is also true of Eastern Tibet.

The fact remains that the word Dharma along with its native imagery—its diverse meanings and its multiple uses (as prefix and suffix) eventually permeated the life and thought ot the Buddhists in Tibet (and later Mongolia). While the numerous meanings of Dharma in Sanskrit literature are cited in standard Sanskrit-English dictionaries (e.g. Monier-Williams and Apte), the special usages in Buddhist thought are collected in *Pali-English Dictionary* (PTS) and *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (Edgerton). It is intended to notice here the migration of the category Dharma (with all its content) to Tibet (and later Mongolia). No attempt can be made here to present all the meanings of the Indian term ; specialists have found the scores of entries in the above four dictionaries as only representative and by no means exhaustive. It will suffice to say that Dharma in the sense of the Buddha's teachings, law, truth, nature of mind, existent things and conditions, element or constituent of existence, qualities acquired by an adept, or discourses was fully absorbed and incorporated into Tibetan Buddhist thought and expression.

A knowledge of the secular aspects and implications of Dharma is considered necessary for an understanding of the political history of ancient India, and this may perhaps hold good for some Northern Buddhist countries if we substitute Chos for Dharma. A scholar of ancient Indian polity notices as many as eight different meanings of Dharma: (i) custom, (ii) law of the social order, (iii) norm of social classes, (iv) righteousness in relation to the temporal ruler, (v) virtue as one of the four ends of human existence, (vi) ethics, (vii) righteous edict of king and (viii) solemn affirmation by a party to a suit (Ghoshal: *A History of Indian Political Ideas,* Oxford University Press, 1959). No less than three words from Western terminology, namely *jus, lex* and *recht,* are thus required to express Dharma in secular sense. As a measure of the dimensions of the subject it may be mentioned that an authoritative exposition (in English) of Dharma in the sense of law and administration of justice covers seven tomes running into 6500 pages, that is, Kane : *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona, 1930-62).

The word Dharma is derived from root dhri (धृ) which means to nourish, to uphold or to support. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, in a section about the creation of the world, says that the Creator was not strong enough even after He created the forms of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras and thus created "the excellent form *dharma*: the *kshatra* of the *kshatra* ; therefore there is nothing higher than the *dharma* ; thenceforth even a weakman rules the stronger by means of the *dharma* as one does through a king. Verily *dharma* is *satya* (truth): and when a man speaks *satya* they say he speaks *dharma* or when he speaks *dharma* they say he speaks *satya*; thus both are same".

स नैव व्यभवत तत श्रेयः रूपम् अत्यसृजत धर्मं तदेतत क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद् धर्मस तस्माद् धर्मात परं नास्ति अथो अवलीयान् वलीयांसम् आशंसते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञैवं यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत तस्मात सत्यं वदन्तम् आहुर धर्मं वदति इति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदति इति एतद् हि एव एतद् उभयं भवति ॥

The sense of paramountcy of ORDER (moral and physical) in the scheme of universe is traced back to the most ancient Indo-Iranian *rita* (ऋत). A connected narrative of this concept however dates from the time of the Upanishads. The point to note, as in the above passage, is that Dharma and Satya are identical categories and that the political authority (king) is the instrument of Dharma. As a consequence the duty of the king constituted the duty par excellence, 'the royal *religion*' (Rajadharma) and the king discharging such duty became 'the *religious* king' (Dharmaraja).

In ancient India Dharmaraja seems to have been a royal title of higher order than Maharaja or Maharajadhiraja. There is some epigraphic evidence of the composite title Dharmamaharaja. Chos-rgyal and Chos-rgyal Chenpo are most perfect renderings of Dharmaraja and Dharmamaharaja doing justice both to Sanskrit etymology and Tibetan syntax.

In Tibetan tradition the kings from Srong-btsan-sgampo to Ral-pa-chen are known as Chos-rgyal. The tradition perhaps cropped up after the final victory of Buddhism, and as Mr. Hugh Richardson points out the sole epigraphic evidence of an early king calling himself Chos-rgyal is that of Khri-srong-lde-btsan.[2] The Tibetan tradition about the epithet Chos-rgyal is not unlike the Indian tradition about Asoka. Asoka called himself Devanampriya (Beloved of the Gods) while later tradition knew him to be a Dharmaraja. In Tibet whoever might have been the first to call himself Chos-rgyal, that is, Dharmaraja, he no doubt extended sanction to two new facts (*i*) the new Chos called Dharma as the established religion and (*ii*) the king (rgyalpo) as the instrument of this Chos.

The office of Chos-rgyal acquired a historic significance in Northern Buddhist countries. When the Gelugpa hierarch (Dalai Lama) became the ruler of Tibet he was appropriately addressed as Chos-rgyal as earlier the Sakya hierarch was called Chos-rgyal. A millennium after Srong-btsan-sgampo princes from Mynak (in eastern Tibet) carved out a kingdom in the land of the Lepchas and established Chos as the state religion. Appropriately the first great king of Sikkim, Phuntsog rNam-rgyal, was consecrated by three Lamas as Chos-rgyal (1642).

The point for emphasis is that none but a true follower of Chos could be a Chos-rgyal. Thus while several Mongol Khans were unreservedly called Chos-rgyal[3], the Manchu Emperors, though conceded to be some sort of incarnations of hJam-dpal (Manjusri), do not feature in Tibetan records as Chos-rgyal.

The first and greatest Chos-rgyal (Dharmaraja) of Tibetan tradition is Asoka (Mya-ngan-med). Besides, as in Indian tradition, the epithet Chos-rgyal came to be applied to Sangs-rgyas (Buddha) and gShin-rje (Yama). All these point to the Indian context of the connotation of Chos.

Ekvall is not the only scholar to ignore the Indian context of Tibetan Buddhism or to seek enlightenment from the Chinese context. Buddhism as a distinct religion came to an end in the plains of India and this provides justification to several scholars to underestimate the Indian context. These scholars are obviously ignorant of the fact that the Mahayana which spread over Tibet and Mongolia was nursed and nourished in the Himalayas in a typically Indian climate. [Besides such methodology would warrant study of European Christianity in total ignorance of the Hebrew context.] Secondly, in such methodology Tibet having been from time to time a part of the Chinese Empire, the context for Chos has to be traced in China. It is not necessary to comment here on the proposition of Tibet being a part of China for any effective length of time. It is however necessary to say that according to many competent scholars Chinese Buddhism was more Chinese than Buddhist.[4] Tibetans no doubt felt that way and accepted the exposition of Chos by Kamalasila the Indian in preference to that by Hoshang the Chinese, towards the end of the eighth century after Christ. For Tibet that fixed the context of her Dharma.[5]

The context is writ large in Kanjur and Tanjur where a title is first announced "in the language of India" (rgyagar-skad-du). It is confusing to reverse the precedence and say, as Ekvall does (p. 232), "Byang-chub sems-dpa, commonly termed

Bodhisattva". Certainly the altruistic doctrine of Bodhisattva found better expression in Tibet than in India owing to the more favourable socio-economic climate in Tibet. Yet any account of this altruism has to begin with the Indian Mahayana tradition. Ekvall builds his exposition around the practice of exposure of the corpse for feeding the vultures and finds it "strongly reminiscent of the practices that have persisted in China from earliest times" (p. 73). This conjecture about disposal of the dead may be correct but a Tibetan would trace his entire code of altruistic practices and rituals to Bhadrachari (bZang-spyod) or Bodhicharyavatara (Spyod-hjug) or to the root, namely, Prajnaparamita (Shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa). In this novel study of Tibetan Buddhism which has missed the context of Chos, the Indian concepts of Triratna (dKon-mchog-gsum), Trikaya (sKu-gsum) or Tridhatu (Khams-gsum) attain the Sunyata (sTong-pa-nyid) in a special sense.

NOTES

1. In the first stage of the encounter between Bon and Buddhism the term Chos was good for both religions though Lhai Chos, Nangpai Chos or Sangs-rgyas kyi Chos was more unequivocal for Buddhism. cf. Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949), Vol. II and *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome 1950). After the final triumph of Buddhism Chos was as good as Sangs-rgyas kyi Chos. Bon on the otherhand came to be expressed as Bon Chos or simply Bon. See also note 5.
2. "A New Inscription of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), April 1964.
3. hPhags-pa calls Kubilai Chos-rgyal Mi-dbang (saskya-bkah-hbum : rgyal po-la-gdams-pahi-rab-dbye).

   [This reference has been promptly traced for me by my pupil Jamyang Kunga Mynak Tulku.] See also note 5.
4. e.g. Arthur Wright (USA) and E. Zurcher (Holland). It is relevant to note that the Indian Sinologist Prabodh Bagchi (d. 1956) was luke-warm about the theory of Buddhist conquest of China, propounded by European Buddhists and acclaimed by Indian scholars who lacked acquaintance with Buddhism in China. China's relationship with Buddhism was a pre-eminently political matter as borne out from history of Tibet and Mongolia. The present writer is engaged in a study of this relationship.
5. Even though "strongly resistant to or inhospitable to loan words" (Ekvall, p. 13), Tibet accommodated the Sanskrit word Dharma and eventually transmitted it to Mongolia. A grandson of Kubilai was named Dharmapala. v. Hulan-deb-ther (*The Red Annals,* Sikkim 1961, folio 14b).

LHASA SANSKRIT

I

As the medium of communication in the Celestial Middle Kingdom, the Chinese ideograph had a sanctity of its own. Inside the Kingdom its mastery was the hallmark of literary eminence and political power, outside its mastery was a token of culture. A barbarian speaking the Celestial language was a lesser barbarian, and if he read and wrote the script he had easier access to the Court and to power and privilege. Besides, dissemination of the language and the script beyond the Wall has been through centuries a principal item of the imperial statecraft. Thus the Manchu, the Mongol and even the Turki (Uigur) had to learn Chinese for varying periods and to varying degrees, and the vertical form was accepted for writing in Manchu and Mongol languages. It is therefore an inexplicable phenomenon for many Sinologists that the Tibetans did not take to the Celestial language as the key to civilization, that they did not borrow the pictograph for their own language and would not even write in vertical lines. Thus Carrington Goodrich says: "For some unexplained reason the Tibetans, who under the direction of Indian pundits in the seventh century of our era, used Sanskrit as the basis of their script, never adopted this arrangement despite their long and close association with the Chinese and their heavy borrowings from the latter's culture."[1]

For a specialist of Tibetan history the problem is however not inexplicable. Both Tibetan and Chinese are Mongoloid languages—the term Mongoloid being used in a wide sense. Yet Tibetan may not be as near Chinese as many Sinologists believe. Tibetan is no doubt a tonal speech like Chinese. But Tibetan is not so predominantly monosyllabic as Chinese. Even if the Chinese ideograph could be introduced when Tibet needed a script, Chinese orthodoxy would have caused shambles of Tibetan words. Such puritanism in Roman transcription of Chinese names continued till the second quarter of this century and reformers like Lin Yutang had to warn against forms like Ra Bin Dra Nath (for Rabindranath).[2]

While linguistics and morphology conceal the secrets of failure of Chinese ideograph in Tibet, Tibetans have their own explanation. Years ago in Drepung (Lhasa) and Tashilhunpo (Shigatse) the writer had talks with some scholars there. The writer had questioned that when the pictograph was found unsuitable for transcription of Tibetan speech how did the Tibetans assess the comparative merits of different Indo-Iranian and Mediterranean scripts. The answer was as simple as the Tibetan mind. There was no question of trying different phonetic scripts. The need for a script arose from the task of translating Buddhist texts into Tibetan. It was thus quite natural to import the script from the country from where the Sacred Doctrine and the Sacred Books were imported. The process did not close with the script or its horizontal run from left to right. The Tibetan books though made of paper did not follow the scroll format of China but adopted the palm-leaf format of India. An honorific description for a Tibetan loose-leaf book is Poti (Skt. Punthi/Pustika). It is well known that one bundle of Tibetan loose leaves may contain more than one book, sometimes twenty to thirty tracts. The whole bundle has one single pagination running from one book to another without any space between the end of one book and the beginning of another. Tibetans would attribute this practice to Indic origins.[3]

The language of Tibet not only withstood invasion from the east. It even spread upto the steppes of Siberia. Tibetan was not merely a language for Enlightenment ; it became the handy language for trade in Mongolia and even Turkestan. The Magyar savant Alexander Csoma de Coros (1784-1842), observing in 1830s, found Tibetan to be the lingua franca in the highlands of Asia and its prestige corresponding to that of Latin in Europe.[4]

From 1880s expanding Chinese population and a determined colonialism planted Chinese speech in north-eastern and eastern borderlands of Tibet. In the opening years of this century Chinese language thus got a foot-hold in these borderlands, conveniently called China's Inner Tibet. Even then before 1950 a small percentage of natives could speak Chinese. If the Baba (offspring of Sino-Tibetan marriages) be excluded the natives speaking Chinese all over Inner Tibet till 1950 would just not be even 5 per cent.

Language is no proof of race. It is however a positive evidence of culture. National consciousness like national identity is more a matter of culture than of race.

II

The alphabet of Tibet is phonetic and had never any pictographic associations. The script current from about 640 is derived from some Indic (Brahmi) scripts prevalent in Kashmir and Nepal and is reminiscent of the Gupta epigraphs. Several styles of Indic script prevalent in Turkestan might have made an impact on Tibetan mind even before there arose the necessity of translating the Buddhist texts from India.[5] While the script for correspondence and such quick expression has a natural cursive character, that for books and epigraphs is a most faithful testimony to its Indic origins. A traveller who knows Sanskrit or some Sanskritic script makes his first and foremost discovery in Tibet when he is face to face with OM MANI PADME HUM, which decorates endlessly the rocks and walls, the boulders and stupas or the prayer wheels and altars all over the country. The traveller does not require a knowledge of *Karandavyuha* to feel that the mystic legend is from India. Only when there is no space for horizontal writing on the rock the inscription is vertical. Otherwise no Tibetan, however illiterate he may be, would ever sign his name or write in a vertical layout ; no block-printer would think of changing the horizontal lines into vertical. When a Nepali Buddhist calls the Tibetan script as LHASA SANSKRIT he consciously or unconsciously affirms two historic facts, that the script is derived from Sanskrit and that it eventually preserved the treasures of Sanskrit learning.

Thonmi Sambhota, the reputed inventor of the script. naturally occupies the place of a national hero and was apotheosized as an incarnation of Manjusri (Tib. Hjam-dbyang), the Buddha of Wisdom. The Indic inspiration for the script—an invention which eventually revolutionized Tibetan thought and literature—has endowed the inventor with an Indic personality. Abbe Huc, travelling in Tibet in 1845, calls the inventor "the famous Hindoo Tonmi Sambhodha".[6]

Thonmi is known to have spent several years in India for framing his phonetic system and came to be called in India the good Tibetan (Sam-bhota). On his return he made prolonged experiments and consultations in the Court before he could finalize the script. Besides the alphabet, he founded a grammatical structure for his language and wrote several treatises on language and grammar. He also made the first Tibetan translations from Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and the historic tradition of literal and faithful translation begins with the inventor of the script.

The translation[7] was done in a manner unique in the history of translation all over the world. It was literal word for word translation and at the same time not exotic to Tibetan literature or culture, Tibetan syntax being strictly observed. The result has been astounding. If the Tibetan rendering of any Sanskrit work is retranslated into Sanskrit it leads to almost full restoration of the original. This has not only helped correct reading of many obscure Sanskrit texts, but also correct interpretation of the Sanskrit works lost in India.

The translation was a joint scheme in which one (or more) Indian Pandita knowing Tibetan sat with one (or more) Tibetan Lo-tsha-ba knowing Sanskrit. The parties had to satisfy each other—word by word, line by line—before seeking authentication. The UNESCO translation system has its prototype in Tibet.

III

Lhasa Sanskrit not only preserved the treasures of Sanskrit learning but also Sanskritized Tibetan tradition. Indian legends and legend patterns made a smooth passage into the Trans-Himalayas along with Avadana and Jataka. While Asoka became a sort of national figure for Tibet, fables and legends of King Vikrama were relayed from Tibet to Mongolia. Imagery and idiom of Sanskrit became a part and parcel of Tibetan (and later Mongolian) literature. The Indian science of dialectics, including probes into consciousness and matter, flourished in refuge in Sakya, Drespung and Urga (Ulan Bator).[8] As Laufer remarked, the waters of the Ganges made fertile the arid steppes of Inner Asia. In Tibetan cosmography India and Tibet (and vaguely Mongolia) formed one zone called Jambugling (Skt. Jambudvipa). Therefore whether his special interest be canonical or non-canonical, a scholar of Tibetan literature has to look for background more in India than in China.

It would, however, be wrong to infer that the Tibetan literature is all translations or all inspired by Indic context. Original contributions made by the Tibetan sages and scholars are as colossal as varied. The original works covered—besides religion and philosophy—poetry, grammar, prosody, history, geography, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry and metallurgy. Two specialities were lexicons and encyclopaedias. The theme of this book, Tibet : *Considerations on Inner Asian History*, being history, a notice of the historical writings of Tibet is offered in conclusion.

In the beginning Tibetan chroniclers were inspired by the Chinese tradition of Shih-chi (the Records of the Scribe = the Records of the Historian). This meant a meticulous regard for events and their dates. The Indian tradition with its indifference to mundane happenings and their chronological sequence was the antithesis of the Chinese tradition.[9] Under the Indian impact the Yig-tshang (Tib. for archives or records) changed its character and Tibetan scholarship founded its own school of historiography.[10] Though the habit of chronological sequence and firm dating lingered, all emphasis was now on the history of religion, its origins in India and its spread in the Trans-Himalayas. The Dharma was eternal and everything else was transitory. Therefore nothing but the story of the Dharma deserved recording. The ideal history was no longer the Records (Yig-tshang) or the Dynastic Annals (Rgyal-rabs) but the Growth of the Religion (Chos-byung). The scholars of Tibet, from Bu-ston onwards, drew inspiration not from China, nor from India but from the dominant phenomenon around them, the Social Milieu—to adopt a label from Arnold Toynbee's repertory.[11]

As Sinologist Balazs says, Chinese history was written by bureaucrats for bureaucrats. It will be true to say that Tibetan history was written by believers (Tib. Nangpa) for believers, by Lamas for Lamas.

Tibetan historical writing has as its subject the dominant phenomenon—the Spread of the Doctrine. The facts recorded mostly relate to propagation, rise and development of different schools and sects, building of monasteries and temples, and the lives of saints and preachers. Much of the narrative is informed with faith and miracle. Yet a hard core of historicity with an authentic chronology makes the Tibetan historical literature an indispensable source today. It preserves most valuable data for the history of the neighbouring countries like India and Mongolia too.

NOTES

1. *A Short History of the Chinese People* (London 1962), pp. 13-14 fn.
2. *My Country and My People,* Appendix II.
3. It has been found that the Buddhist manuscripts in Kashmir had this feature of running pagination. Vide Nalinaksha Dutt: *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Srinagar 1939), Vol. I, Preface, p. iv.
4. *Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English* (Calcutta 1834) and *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta 1834).
5. Thomas: "Brahmi script in Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts" in *Asiatica Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig 1954) and Nalinaksha Dutt: *The Gilgit Manuscripts,* Vol. I, contain interesting data.
6. Huc & Gabet: *Travels in Tartary Thibet and China* Eng. trans. Hazlitt, ed. Pelliot (London 1928), Vol. II, p. 244.
7. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya: *Bhota-prakasa* (Calcutta 1939) pp. xix-xxxi and Nalinaksha Dutt's Foreword in *Prajna* (Gangtok 1961) contain handy accounts of the translation work.
8. Vide Stcherbatsky: *The Buddhist Logic* (Leningrad 1930-32/Hague 1958).
9. It is not implied that Indian historical compositions—Itihasa, Purana, etc.—have no use for a modern enquirer. Vide U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1957/1965).
10. The writer has under compilation a paper on Tibetan historiography; mainly based on the pioneer works of S. C. Das (1849-1917), A. H. Vostrikov (1904-37) and Professor Giuseppe Tucci, the conclusions are the writer's own. The paper is to be published in *Bulletin of Tibetology* in summer 1967.
11. *A Study of History,* Vol. X, Sec. XIII. The Inspirations of Historians.

Appendix

GLOSSARY

Tibetan word LAMA in proper transcription is BLA-MA, likewise TASHI or TRASHI is BKRA-SHIS. A word is sometimes pronounced in different ways in different dialects; for example Khyi/Chyi for dog or Ge-gen/Ger-gan for teacher. The words listed here are generally as pronounced in Central (Lhasa) Dialect; the transcription based on Tibetan spelling is on the lines of GOULD & RICHARDSON: *Tibetan Word Book* (OUP, 1943). For meaning, when a word is directly derived from Indic source the Sanskrit prototype is preferred to its English rendering.

KON-CHHO-SUM (DKON-MCHHOG-GSUM) ...	Tri-Ratna.
SANG-GYE (SANGS-RGYAS) ...	Buddha.
CHHO (CHHOS) ...	Dharma.
GEN-DUN (DGE-HDUN) ...	Sangha.
KHAM-SUM (KHAMS-GSUM)	Tri-Loka.
KU-SUM (SKU-GSUM) ...	Tri-Kaya.
TRUL-KU (SPRUL-SKU) ...	Nirmanakaya; an Emanation; an Incarnation.
RIM-PO-CHHE (RIN-PO-CHHE) ...	Ratna; an Incarnation.
HU-THUK-THU (HU-THUG-THU) ...	An Incarnation (Mongol).
CHANG-CHHUB-SEM-PA (BYANG-CHHUB-SEMS-DPAH) ...	Bodhisattva.
RANG-SANG-GYE (RANG-SANGS-RGYAS) ...	Pratyekabuddha.
DOR-JE-CHHANG (RDO-RJE-HCHHANG) ...	Vajradhara.
CHEN-RE-SIK (SPYAN-RAS-GZIGS) ...	Avalokitesvara.
JAM-YANG (HJAM-DBYANGS) ...	Manjughosha.
JAM-PEL (HJAM-DPAL) ...	Manjusri.
O-PA-ME (HOD-DPAG-MED)	Amitabha.

CHHO-GYAL(CHHOS-RGYAL)	Dharmaraja.
SHIN-JE (GSHIN-RJE) ...	Yama.
PE-MA (PAD-MA) ...	Padma; lotus; sign of non-attachment or compassion.
DOR-JE (RDO-RJE) ...	Vajra; thunder-bolt; sign of truth or adamantine reality.
TONG-PA-NYI (STONG-PA-NYID) ...	Sunyata; void.
SHE-RAP (SHES-RAB) ...	Prajna; wisdom.
NYING-JE (SNYING-RJE) ...	Karuna; compassion.

For fuller meaning of the terms peculiar to Buddhism and Mahayana a general reader may consult CHRISTMAS HUMPHREYS: *Buddhism* (Pelican 1962) and EDWARD CONZE: *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Cassirer 1953—).

PON (BON) ...	Pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.
NANG-PA (NANG-PA) ...	Buddhist.
CHHI-PA (PHYI-PA) ...	Non-Buddhist; outsider.
NYING-MA (RNYING-MA) ...	Ancient Sect of Tibetan Buddhism; oldest Sect.
KA-GYU (BKAH-BRGYUD) ...	Second oldest Sect; Oral Tradition (from India).
SA-KYA (SA-SKYA) ...	Third Sect with centre at Sakya.
KA-DAM (BKAH-GDAMS) ...	Sect commencing with Atisa Dipankara.
GE-LUK (DGE-LUGS) ...	Reformist Sect developed from Ka-dam.

For pre-Buddhist and native religions of Tibet and Mongolia a general reader may consult MIRCEA ELIADE: *Shamanism* (London 1964) and HELMUT HOFFMANN: *The Religions of Tibet* (London 1961). For the different Sects and the related literature GIUSEPPE TUCCI: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949) is the leading and comprehensive work. MARCO PALLIS: *Peaks and Lamas* (New York 1949), EVANS-WENTZ: *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation* (OUP 1954) and LAMA ANAGARIKA GOVINDA: *Foundations of Tibetan*

Mysticism (London 1959) explain the mystic rituals of Tibetan Buddhism.

U-CHEN (DBU-CHAN) ...	Letter (script) with head-line; monumental script; book characters.
U-ME (DBU-MED) ...	Letter (script) without head-line; cursive script; written characters.
KA-GYUR (BKAH-HGYUR) ...	Buddhavachana in Tibetan translation.
TEN-GYUR (BSTAN-HGYUR)	Sastra in Tibetan translation.
GYU (RGYUD)	Tantra.
SHER-CHHIN (SHER-PHYIN)	Prajnaparamita.
SANG-CHO (BSANG-SPYOD)	Bhadrachari; Aryabhadracharya pranidhanaraja.
CHO-JUK (SPYOD-HJUG) ...	Charya-avatara; Bodhicharyavatara.
SA-KYA-KA-BUM (SA-SKYA-BKAH-HBUM) ...	Works of Sakya Lamas.
YIK-TSHANG (YIG-TSHANG)	Archives; records.
GYAL-RAP (RGYAL-RABS) ...	Genealogy of kings; dynastic annals.
CHHO-JUNG (CHHOS-HBYUNG) ...	Growth of religion; history of Buddhism.

The frontispiece of this book—designed by Rigzin Lharipa the famous Sikkimese painter—depicts three books; the two at the bottom are captioned Rgyal-rabs and Yig-tshang while the one at the top displays the label Chhos-hbyung. This illustrates the evolution of Tibetan historiography (vide Supra pp. 58-60).

DZAM-PU-LING (HDZAM-BU-GLING) ...	Jambudvipa; the world.
GYA-KAR (RGYA-GAR)	India.
GYA-NAK (RGYA-NAG) ...	China.
PO (BOD) ...	Tibet.

PHAG-YUL (HPHAGS-YUL)	Aryabhumi (Noble Land); India.
KANG-CHEN (GANGS-CHAN)	Himavat (Land of Snow); Tibet.
SAM-YE (BSAM-YAS)	Achintya; the first monastery of Tibet (c. 761-779); modelled on Odantopuri though named after Ajanta.
TRAK-YER-PA (BRAG-YER-PA)	The monastery (east of Lhasa) where Atisa Dipankara expounded the Kalachakra.
SA-KYA (SA-SKYA)	Pandubhumi; the site of Sakya grand monastery (1071).
RI-BO-TSE-NGA (RI-WO-RTSE-LNGA)	Panchasirsha; Wu-tai-shan in northern Shanshi (China); associated with Manjusri.
SHA-LU (SHA-LU)	The monastery (s.w. of Tashilhunpo) where Bu-ston resided.
GAN-DEN (DGAH-LDAN)	Tushita; monastery (east of Lhasa) with mausoleum of Tsong-kha-pa.
DRE-PUNG (HBRAS-SPUNGS)	Dhanyakataka; monastery (west of Lhasa) with good number of Mongol and Siberian monks.
TRA-SHI-HLUN-PO (BKRA-SHIS-LHUN-PO)	Mangalakuta; monastery (adjoining Shigatse/Shi-ka-tse) with the seat of Panchen Lama also called Tashi Lama.
HLA-KHANG (LHA-KHANG)	Devagriha; temple.
GOM-PA (DGON-PA)	Vihara; monastery.
CHHO-TEN (MCHHOD-RTAN)	Stupa; pagoda (reliquary or votive).

For geographical information particularly about monasteries and temples see FERRARI, PETECH & RICHARDSON: *Mkyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (Rome 1958) and WYLIE: *The Geography of Tibet according to the Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (Rome 1962). SARAT CHANDRA DAS: *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (London 1902), though much dated, is good still.

NYA-NGEN-ME (MYA-NGAN-MED)	Asoka Maurya (c. 273-232 B.C.).
SONG-TSEN-GAM-PO (SRONG-BTSAN-SGAM-PO)	King (c. 600-650 A.D.).
THON-MI-SAM-BHO-TA (THON-MI-SAM-BHO-TA)	Minister of Song-tsen-gam-po and reputed inventor of Tibetan script.
THRI-SONG-DI-TSEN (KHRI-SRONG-LDE-BTSAN)	King (c. 750-800).
LANG-TAR-MA (GLANG-DAR-MA)	King who persecuted Buddhism: murdered (c. 842).
DROM-TON (HBROM-STON)	Disciple of Atisa (c. 1002-1064).
SA-KYA-PAN-DI-TA (SA-SKYA-PAN-DI-TA)	Sakya grandlama (c. 1182-1251); the first Tibetan to be called Pandita.
CHHO-GYAL-PHAG-PA (CHHOS-RGYAL-HPHAGS-PA)	Sakya grandlama (c. 1235-1280); recognized by Kubilai Khan as Lama-King of Tibet.
PU-TON (BU-STON)	Scholar (c. 1290-1364); historian and editor of Kanjur and Tanjur.
TSONG-KHA-PA (TSONG-KHA-PA)	Founder of Geluk Sect (c. 1355-1417).

LON-CHHEN-SHE-DRA (BLON-CHHEN-BSHAD-SGRA)	Plenipotentiary of Dalai Lama who signed the Simla Convention (July, 1914).
GYAL-WA (RGYAL-BA)	Jina ; conqueror/victor (moral or material sense).
GYAL-PO (RGYAL-PO)	King.
CHHO-GYAL (CHHOS-RGYAL)	Dharmaraja ; the king who rules according to religion ; the king who is head of the church ; the head of the church who is king.
TA-LE-LAMA (TAH-LAHI-BLA-MA)	Dalai Lama: the head of Geluk Sect, the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Spyan-ras-gzigs) and the king of Tibet ; while the Mongol form (Tale Lama/Dalai Lama) prevailed all over Asia, in Tibet known as Rgyal-wa Rin-po-chhe (Precious Conqueror), Skyab-mgon Rin-po-chhe (Precious Refuge) or Kun-hdun (All Presence).
PEN-CHHEN-LAMA (PAN-CHHEN-BLA-MA)	Panchen Lama (Great Pandita Lama): the incarnation of Amitabha (Hod-dpag-med) ; second only to Dalai Lama and his spiritual adviser ; called Panchen Erteni (Ratna=gem) by the Mongol (and Manchu) ; known as Tashi Lama in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and India.
NAM-KO (GNAM-BSKOS)	The Son of Heaven (ancient Yueh-chi and Han form for a king) ; Tibetan epithet for Manchu Emperor.

KONG-MA (GONG-MA) ...	The Most High (Tibetan form of address for a great ruler spiritual or temporal) ; epithet for Sakya Lama, Manchu Emperor.
THRE (KHRAL) ...	Tax ; tribute.
CHA (DPYA) ...	Tax ; tribute.
TEN-CHHA (RTAN-CHHA)	Objects (articles) for presentation.
SHUNG (GSHUNG) ...	Government.
GANDEN-PHOTRANG (DGAH-LDAN-PHO-BRANG)	Heavenly Palace, that is, Heavenly Government ; Tibetan government as developed by Geluk Sect.

This author's projected book on Lamaist Polity will contain detailed discussion of Tibetan terms conveying political ideas and institutions. For political history of Tibet a general reader may begin with DALAI LAMA: *My Land and My People* (Asia Publishing 1962) and RICHARDSON: *Tibet and Its History* (Oxford University Press 1962).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Buddha (Nirvana c. 544 B.C.)

Asoka (c. 273-232 B.C.): Propagation reached places beyond Pamirs and Oxus but no evidence (legendary or epigraphic) for Tibet.

Kushana (Yueh-chi) rule over Northern India, and places beyond Pamirs (c. first two centuries after Christ). Discovery of Prajnaparamita (Tib. Shes-phyin) and rise of Mahayana (Tib. Theg-chen). Spread of Mahayana in Oxus and Tarim basins. Tibetan legends claim the first advent of Buddhism 375 years before Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c. 605-650 after Christ), that is, about the middle of third century after Christ. Evidence for appearance of Buddhism a few generations before Srong-btsan-sgam-po and possibly from Khotan side not lacking.

Tibetan historiography begins with Buddha and Asoka and includes Kushanas. Hence the above preamble.

A.D.	
c. 605-650	Song-tsen-gam-po: Tibet an imperial power. Invention of script. Propagation of Buddhism (Mahayana).
c. 750-800	Thri-song-di-tsen: Tibetans capture Sian (China's capital). Tibetan rule over Tung-huang. Arrival of Padmasambhava and victory of Buddhism over Bon. Debate between Indian and Chinese exponents of Buddhism: defeat and expulsion of Chinese exponent.
822	Treaty between Tibet and China. Tibetan rule over Tun-huang continues (till 848).
c. 842	Assassination of Lang-tar-ma: Rise of the Lama.
850-1100	Break-up of the ancient monarchy: Decentralization of secular authority. Emergence of feudal and monastic authorities. Break-up of the ancient land-holdings.

c. 1042	Arrival of Atisa: Dies in Tibet (1054). His disciples form a new sect.
1071	Foundation of Sakya.
1100-1200	Organized monastic centres in society and government as firm characteristic feature.
1200 onwards	Ka-gyu (Karma) and Sakya Lamas propagate Buddhism among the Mongols.
1162-1227	Jenghiz Khan builder of Mongol Empire.
1200-1350	Sakya Grand Lamas as rulers of Tibet. Tibetan chiefs submit to Jenghiz (1207). Sakya Lama becomes the Priest/Teacher of the Mongol Khan and his Viceroy in Tibet (1240-1250).
1270	Mongol conquest of China completed: Kubilai makes Khanbalyk (Peking) his metropolis.
1270-1368	Mongol (Yuan) Dynasty rule over China and Tibet.
1368	Mongol Dynasty overthrown in China and replaced by a Han (Ming) Dynasty. Link between China and Tibet lost.
1350-1400	Sakya Lamas lost political power and a new monarchical state in alliance with Ka-gyu Lamas arise in Tibet.
1357-1417	Tsong-kha-pa founder of Gelug (Yellow) Sect.
1500	The Yellow Sect well established.
1500-1700	The Yellow Sect propagates the Reformed Doctrine among the Mongols.
1578	The Third hierarch of Yellow Sect called Dalai by Altan Khan. [The Dalai Lamas from 1391 listed at the end.]
1600	The Yellow Sect bid for political power.
1642-82	The Dalai Lama as the undisputed sovereign of Tibet.

1652	The Dalai Lama visits the Manchu Emperor. The Manchu treats the Lama as Priest and King and expects the Lama to secure the allegiance of the Mongol tribes.
1688-91	The Mongol princes advised by the Hutukhtu of Urga (Yellow Sect Incarnation) swear allegiance to the Manchu.
1720	Manchu authority over Tibet complete.
1850	Manchu authority over Tibet at end.
1876-1900	Failure of British attempts to enter Tibet with Chinese support.
1903-4	British expedition to Lhasa: leader Younghusband.
1907	Anglo-Russian Convention.
1911	Chinese Revolution.
1912	End of Manchu Dynasty: Tibet and Mongolia declare independence.
1913	Mongolian-Tibetan Treaty.
1914	Simla Convention.
1914-18	First World War: Tibet supports Britain and Allies.
1939-45	Second World War: Tibet neutral.
1951	17-Pt. Agreement between Chinese People's Republic and Tibet. Tibet a part of China.

THE DALAI LAMAS

I	Gedun Truppa	1391-1475
II	Gedun Gyatso	1475-1543
III	Sonam Gyatso	1543-1588
IV	Yonten Gyatso	1589-1617
V	Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso	1617-1682
VI	Tsangyang Gyatso	1683-1706
VII	Kezang Gyatso	1708-1757
VIII	Jampel Gyatso	1758-1805
IX	Luntok Gyatso	1806-1815
X	Tshultrim Gyatso	1816-1837
XI	Khedrup Gyatso	1838-1856
XII	Trinle Gyatso	1856-1875
XIII	Thupten Gyatso	1876-1933
XIV	Tenzin Gyatso	(b. 1935)

ALSO PUBLISHED

Chakravarti, P. C.—India-China Relations. 1961. Rs. 12.00

Survey of Sino-Indian relations from 1950 to 1960 from the standpoint of an Indian, who loves his country, its freedom and its democratic way of life. He has also a thesis—that Tibet is our lost key to the solution of the problem.

Das, S. C.—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (Tibet) 2nd Ed. 1965. Rs. 10.00

Das Gupta, C. C.—The Development of Kharosthi Script. 1958 Rs. 40.00

A detailed and scientific study of the origin and development of Kharosthi Script.

Nakamura, H.—Japan and Indian Asia. 1961 Rs. 10.00

A fascinating account of the centuries-old cultural relations between India and Japan.

Regmi, D. R.—Medieval Nepal. Vols. 1, 2 & 3 Rs.140.00